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WEST AFRICA

Nigeria

THE QUEEN'S VISIT

H.M. THE QUEEN, accompanied by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, left London for Nigeria on January 27.

British newspapers carried descriptions of the great welcome the Queen and the Duke received, and the crowds in Lagos were estimated at around a million, which is three times the size of the normal population. During her visit the Queen is visiting all the regions of Nigeria and will meet representatives from the Southern Cameroons.

The territory now known as the Federation of Nigeria is by far the largest of the Colonial territories, and ranks fourth of the Commonwealth countries in population—after India, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom, and far ahead of Canada, South Africa or Australia. It is four times the size of the British Isles, and has a population of over 52 million. In its Northern Region the Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri tribes are the most numerous; the Yoruba predominate in the West, and the Ibo and Ibibo inhabit the Eastern Region. The Non-African population is about 16,000.

The vast majority of these peoples are engaged in peasant agriculture, cultivating on an average between three and five acres of land, and growing principally groundnuts, benniseed, soya beans, sorghum, millet, rice and maize; the main crops grown for export by farmers with more extensive lands being cocoa, palm kernels and oil, and groundnuts.

West African kingdoms had flourished from 1000, and there had been centuries of European contact and trading with the coast, before the British Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria was formally established. In 1862 Lagos was declared a British Colony and following on the growth of British trade the Royal Niger Company was granted its charter in 1886. At the beginning of this century the British Government took over all administrative responsibilities from the Company, and then conquered Kano and Sokoto. The acceptance by the Fulani Emirs in the North of British suzerainty carried with it agreement on the cessation of the slave trade (which had also been brought to an end in the South). Britain undertook not to interfere with the Mohammedan religion or the existing form of law.

In addition to the Niger Company, administrative responsibility had been held by both the Foreign and the Colonial Offices. In 1912 one of the most famous figures in British Colonial history, Lord Lugard, then Sir Frederick Lugard, was appointed Governor of both regions, and their amalgamation under the Colonial Office took place two years later.

Between the two world wars, Nigeria's progress was financed almost entirely from her own revenue, and between 1939 and 1945 her importance as an exporting nation grew enormously. In 1946 a ten year development plan estimated to cost over £55 million, a considerable proportion of which was guaranteed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, was begun. In December, 1955, the grant of £1½ million, the largest single payment ever made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, was approved for the extension and improvement of the Federal trunk road system.

Constitutional developments have also been rapid since 1946, and the Federation in its present form was established under the 1954 Constitution. It is made up of three regions: the North, East and West. Each region has its own House of Assembly in addition to representation in the Federal House of Representatives. In the North, the Regional House is led by the Sardauna of Sokoto, leader of the Northern People's Congress (NPC), in the East by Dr. Nnamde Azikiwe, leader of the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) and in the West by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the Action Group.

The British Cameroons is a United Nations Trust Territory administered by Britain as an integral part of Nigeria, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement. The northern part of the territory is administered with the Northern Region of Nigeria, and the southern part is a separate region. In 1949 a Commissioner of the Cameroons was appointed with special responsibilities for administration in the south, and for trusteeship affairs throughout the territory.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN 1956

The Nigerian Western Regional House of Assembly adopted a resolution put forward by the Premier, Mr. Obafemi Awolowo, on December 13, demanding full self-government for the region next year.

The Times (December 14, 1955) commented: "One effect of the resolution would be the elimination from the Executive Council of the Governor, who at present presides. Appointment of the Governor and Deputy Governor would continue to be made by the Crown, but in consultation with the Premier of the region. Mr. Awolowo gave an assurance that the demand for regional self-rule did not imply withdrawal from the federation."

This resolution was followed by a statement from Dr. Azikiwe, Premier of the Eastern Region, who, in the course of his presidential address to the National Executive of the N.C.N.C., put forward his personal views on what stand his party should take at the forthcoming Constitutional Conference. He said: "We believe in complete self-government for Nigeria as a whole. That would be our main stand at the Constitutional Conference. We shall maintain that the next constitution of Nigeria should enable it, without any qualifications whatsoever, to become a full-fledged member of the British Commonwealth of Nations." He added that while it was essential that political unity should be realized throughout Nigeria, respect must be shown for the diversities of language and culture which existed within the boundaries of their country. All regions must have similar qualifications for the franchise which should be extended to all adult British subjects or protected persons born of indigenous parents. The chief goal of the conference should be the preservation of Nigeria, in which all citizens are bound together by common nationality enjoying fundamental rights and equality of opportunity.

Dr. Eme Awa, in two articles which appeared in the *Lagos Daily Times* (December 27 and 28, 1955), called for a broadening of political and social outlook among the Nigerian people. He said: "Much of the debate in previous conferences and in the Legislature has been based on introspection. If this continues,—if we continue to try to homogenize the country in the cherished images of our individual ways of life and our

concept of our importance, we may end by destroying the country . . . We need a blending of the dynamism of Ibos, the refinement and astuteness of Yorubas, the skill in elaborate social organization of the Fulanis and Hausas, and so forth." Unless this unity was achieved, Dr. Awa said, Nigeria would have ineffective leadership, "for what attracts people generally toward a leader is ethnic affinity and not the social philosophy and the programme of the party . . . By sharpening our awareness of the difficulties that beset national development and the benefits derivable from national self-determination that is carried out on a broad social and geographical background, it should spur us on to prepare more effectively for the forthcoming Constitutional Conference by organizing our men and women into political parties that transcend ethnic boundaries."

A meeting to discuss preliminary arrangements for the Constitutional Conference was held in Lagos on January 5 and 6. The Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, presided. A number of procedural matters affecting the conference were discussed. The delegates recommended that it should take place in London in mid-September, 1956, with, it was hoped, the Colonial Secretary taking the chair. Each region should send ten delegates, the South Cameroons five, and Lagos two. Her Majesty's Government should be represented at the conference, and the Governor-General, Regional Governors and Commissioner of the Cameroons should attend on behalf of the Federation. (*News from Nigeria*, January 11, 1956.)

ELECTORAL REFORM IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

A delegation from the Northern Element Progressive Union, led by Mallam Aminu Kano, submitted a memorandum recommending electoral reforms for the Northern Region of Nigeria to the Secretary of State in London on December 19, 1955. This asks that direct elections should be introduced in all parts of the North, and points out that indirect and nomination systems were abolished in the East and West Regions in 1953.

Under the present working of the Electoral College system, N.E.P.U. candidates have found that they had sometimes, at the final stage of the election, to contest opponents they had already defeated at earlier stages. The electoral law of the region provided that any person, whether or not he had gone through the first two stages, could be nominated to stand at the final stage by anyone who had passed through the primary stage supported by nine other members of the same Final Electoral College. This also makes it possible for any person who may never have fought the elections at all to be nominated at the final stage as a candidate even in his absence. Invariably it is the candidates nominated to stand at the final stage who have won the seats. This happened in the case of sixteen of the seventeen members for Kano elected for the Federal House of Representatives at the last election.

The reasons why the Northern Region Government support indirect election are that the majority of the Region's population are illiterate, the expense of producing ballot boxes would be high and voters would have to travel great distances in the rural areas. The N.E.P.U. however consider that there can be no harmony or true democratic system of government in Nigeria when the country's legislature is composed of members half of whom are not true representatives of the people. Elections in India, the Sudan, the Gold Coast and

the other two regions of Nigeria, where the overwhelming majority of the people are illiterate, have proved that illiteracy is no longer an obstacle to direct elections. Distances in those countries are as great as in Northern Nigeria. The ballot box is essential to free elections and therefore expense cannot be considered important. Lastly, direct election reduces to the minimum all chances of corruption which exist under the system of indirect elections. And it saves time.

N.E.P.U. claims that given the normal freedom accorded an opposition party at any free and direct election in the Northern Region today, it would be the governing party. It is the main opposition party, and for the Colonial Office to continue with the argument put forward in 1952, that the party represented only a minority group, suggests that they do not wish to encourage an opposition to the Northern Regional Government.

N.E.P.U. ask that before further constitutional changes are made in 1956, the British Government should appoint a neutral Commission to examine the Electoral College system, and the extent to which it weakens the strength and unity of Nigeria.

INAUGURATION OF THE NORTHERN NIGERIAN HIGH COURT

Reporting the ceremony of the inauguration of the High Court of Justice and the swearing in of judges, *The Times* (December 5, 1955) said: "After administering the oath of allegiance and the judicial oath, the Governor said it was a historic day in the annals of the north . . . He was particularly glad to see among those present some of the most distinguished Muslim jurists as a reminder of the fundamental part played by the Muslim courts.

"The Chief Justice, in reply, said it was a matter for pride that the law of England, throughout the centuries and in many lands among many races, had met men's needs for gradual change while resisting their weakness for hasty, arbitrary action."

MINISTERIAL RESIGNATIONS

Following on the findings of the Commissions set up last year in the Eastern and Western Regions to inquire into the existence of bribery and corruption in public life, a number of resignations have been announced. Mr. Adegoke Adelabu, the Federal Minister of Social Services, and one of the four representatives for Ibadan in the Federal House, has stated that he is resigning his portfolio for personal reasons. He has also stated that he, together with his three colleagues, no longer felt able to accept the whip of the N.C.N.C., and that in future all the four representatives from Ibadan would sit in the House as Independents. Mr. Adelabu has also been chairman of the Ibadan district council, in which capacity there was a finding against him by the Western Region Commission of Inquiry.

In the Eastern Regional House of Assembly, the Finance Minister, Mr. Mbonu Ojike, and the Minister of Lands, Mr. M. C. Awgu have resigned. This follows criticism of their conduct by the Eastern Region Commission.

REPORT FROM THE FEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES

The Federation of British Industries Mission which visited

West Africa last spring has published a report which has proved to be highly controversial.

Mr. George Vine, commenting on it in the *News Chronicle* (December 12, 1955), described it as a document advising investors to "go slow" in Nigeria. He said the report "could hardly be more tactless. If followed, it will estrange British industry from the ambitious African leaders . . . The authors counsel that large-scale capital investment or erection of plant should not be embarked upon 'until the political uncertainties are clarified' . . . They say that self-government with the disappearance of British control and the retirement of British officials, will lead to a deterioration of administration. 'Corruption will abound' . . .

"Yet, at Dr. Azikiwe's invitation, senior executives of some of America's mammoth industries are visiting the Eastern Region shortly after the Royal visit with a view to setting up subsidiary companies there. Foreign projects being considered include motor-car assembly and manufacture of tyres, tubes and footwear. United States Steel is said to be interested in building a plant near the Enugu coalfields . . .

"While the authors are lukewarm towards investment, their eyes brighten at the mention of trade. This, of course, involves less risk. We are still far and away Nigeria's biggest supplier. We sell £60 million worth of goods each year (biggest single items cotton, iron and steel). We buy principally cocoa, groundnuts, minerals, leather hides and timber.

"This report certainly runs counter to official Government policy. Mr. Butler, the Chancellor, has often stressed the need for more overseas investment."

Nigerian officials in London expressed disappointment at the F.B.I.'s apparent lack of faith in Nigeria's ability to govern itself, and the *News Chronicle* (December 13, 1955) commented that the F.B.I.'s warning "is shortsighted because in effect it risks the loss of a friendly territory to investment from our competitors; and finally it is also, in its quiet way, a betrayal of the trust we have so far given to more than thirty million people."

Sir Geoffrey Bates, of the banking firm of Edward Bates and Sons, in a letter to the Editor (December 16, 1955) wrote: "Let there be no mistake—it is Great Britain who has led and encouraged Nigerians on the road to self-government. It is Great Britain who, in the final decision, has the responsibility of giving Nigeria self-government. If we then desert Nigeria through lack of faith in her ability to govern herself, then we have failed in our duty as trustees. If Nigeria is to continue her increasing degree of prosperity, she can only do so with the help of outside capital. She is crying out for such help, and she will, I am certain, welcome it. If we do not help her, then self-government may indeed collapse. Conversely, the more we support her by bringing new capital into the country, the greater will be the likelihood of a prosperous Nigeria in the future."

In order to clarify the F.B.I.'s views, Mr. Maurice J. Watt issued a statement to the *Commonwealth News Agency* (December 14, 1955). He said: "It is most unfortunate that certain sections of our report have been taken out of their context. The message of the report as a whole is that industry in the United Kingdom should take an even closer interest in Nigeria and the Gold Coast—expanding markets to which our exports are already running at the rate of nearly £200 million a year. Our task was to make a rapid appraisal of the changing

economic and political conditions in the two countries and see how British industry could best contribute to their economic expansion.

"In the case of Nigeria we concluded that there should be no difficulty in financing a healthy development programme and indicated some of the lines it might take; but we did point out the political uncertainties and other limiting factors such as Nigeria's lack of industrial, technical and financial knowledge and experience. Having pointed out that Nigeria's economy is expanding rapidly, the revenue is buoyant and the standard of living is rising, we quoted the International Bank Mission in support of our advice to British industrialists that the Federal finances of Nigeria were sound, that reserves were satisfactory and that there should be no difficulty in financing a healthy development programme. What we did advise is that industrialists should plan investment in that development programme on a Regional basis in conformity with the policies of the three Regional Governments and in harmony with the Regional programmes of each Government. We further advised that this Regional approach should be maintained until machinery for inter-Regional co-operation had been established by means of the National Economic Council, or through other machinery for nation-wide planning on a Federal basis . . ."

The question of investment was raised in the House of Commons on December 14, when the Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, in reply to a question from Mr. Julian Snow (Labour), said that H.M. Government welcomed private investment in Nigeria, as did all the Governments of the Federation, though local requirements may vary from region to region. It was one of the government's principal aims to create conditions favourable for private investment, by promoting good government and by assisting in the development of basic services.

The Gold Coast

THE BOURNE REPORT¹

SIR FREDERICK BOURNE, who was invited to advise the Gold Coast Government on constitutional matters, has made his recommendations to the Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke.

Summarizing the report, *West Africa* (December 31, 1955) said that a scheme for engaging regions more closely in the business of government by a very substantial transfer of power from the centre is put forward. "Sir Frederick claims that his scheme allows for the 'diffusion of power from the centre' asked for by the Opposition, though he had no opportunity of discussing it, or their own federal proposals, with them. He suggests that 'fragmentation' of existing states is undesirable, and that excessive centralization can be corrected by changes less drastic than those proposed by the N.L.M.², which would nevertheless 'meet the legitimate demands of the political, social, and economic conditions of the Gold Coast.' . . ."

Sir Frederick suggests the establishment in each Region of a Regional Assembly, where the majority of District Councils in the Regions desire it, but only where District Councils have been established to cover the whole Region (only Ashanti and the Northern Territories would qualify now). The report emphasizes that the position of the Chiefs is based on

¹Digest, III, 5.

²National Liberation Movement.

tradition, not statute, and the constitution should not define their functions and privileges in detail. But their importance in regional development and local government is such that their position must be safeguarded and means must be provided to utilize their experience.

The following sub-clauses in the constitution are put forward: "that no measure affecting the traditional function or privileges of a Chief or Chiefs in a Region or Regions, whether a Regional Assembly shall have been established or not, shall be introduced in the Legislative Assembly without prior consultation with the Chief or Chiefs concerned. Any views received as a result of such consultation shall be circulated to all Members of the Legislative Assembly and shall be laid before the House for debate and determination by a free vote without respect to party affiliations, before such measure is read for the first time."

It is also recommended that "in any Region in which a recognized Council of Chiefs exists it shall be open to such Council at their pleasure to tender advice on any subject of regional importance to the Regional Assembly; and similarly the Regional Assembly should normally seek the advice of such Council on such matters. Advice received under this clause shall be laid before the Regional Assembly concerned for debate and determination of the question involved."

Supreme power should remain with the Centre; if "residual powers" remain with Regions so that the Centre's powers were defined and limited it would "slow down development and introduce an intolerable handicap to the administration."

A Regional Assembly would consist of all Legislative Assembly Members for the Region, except Ministers and Ministerial Secretaries, and a similar or larger number of Members elected up from District and Municipal Councils, who would really be the "main body" (the Assembly would not interfere in municipal affairs). These two classes of Members would join to co-opt into the Assembly up to one-fifth of their number; co-opted Members could hold any office, but could not vote. An Assembly could appoint a President, who would not take part in proceedings . . .

In education, the report suggests that Regional Assemblies should have "within the framework of general policy laid down, control over Local Authorities' responsibilities in respect of primary and middle education, and extensive advisory functions in relation to secondary education, and determination of site, type plans, etc., of secondary institutions within the funds allocated".

Sir Frederick proposes that Regions should be represented on Central Government Corporations or committees "of an inter-regional character", and that appointment of representatives should be made by Regional Assemblies; "such representation would appear to be particularly desirable in the case of the Agricultural Development Corporation, the Cocoa Marketing Board, and the Industrial Development Corporation."

Once functions have been transferred from the centre they could only be withdrawn by formal amendment of the Ordinances establishing Regional Assemblies. Ministers would have a right at any time to address Assemblies, whose Members could question them . . . Regional Assemblies would have no independent sources of revenue; Sir Frederick suggests, however, that they should be consulted in the formative stages of all parts of development plans affecting the Region.

According to the Report the Northern Territories need special attention and it suggests that within a year of the new constitution coming into force, the Government should produce an outline ten-year development plan for them.

Following the publication of the Report, the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, invited the Opposition parties to a round table conference to discuss its recommendations before the subject came up for debate in the Assembly in February.

Dr. K. A. Busia, who visited England last year as representative of the National Liberation Movement, stated in Accra that Sir Frederick's Report was "in the right direction". He said it had proved the Opposition right in their "revolt against excessive centralization," although it did not take sufficient account either of the suspicions of the people of the Northern Territories, or of the strong national sentiments of the Ashanti people. The problem of Togoland was also ignored. He recommended that a suitable national authority should be brought together to determine a constitution for the Gold Coast, and it was to be hoped that the Government and the Opposition would co-operate without delay in bringing such a national body into being.

The Times (January 23, 1956) described these two pronouncements as "hopeful", and added: "The Asanteman Council, the most influential body in Ashanti, the centre of the Opposition, decided last week to accept the Prime Minister's invitation under conditions. They want to widen the basis of discussion; and they want an assurance that there should be a general election immediately after the conference . . . A general election before self-government is granted at the beginning of next year is inevitable anyway, though it does not seem that any date can be fixed at this stage. What matters is that the parties should go to the polls agreed on the fundamental point of the nature of the constitution. The alternative is that the Convention People's Party should advocate self-government on existing terms, while the National Liberation Movement should demand a constituent assembly. An election so conducted might be violent. The outcome might well be to retard self-government. This, surely, is not what anyone is aiming at—least of all, be it said, Great Britain."

NORTHERN TERRITORIES ASK FOR SAFEGUARDS

The Mamprusi district council, representing an important Northern Territories tribal area, told the Governor that they would oppose self-government unless they were provided with protection from people they fear might become oppressors. The council declared that unless certain provisos could be met they would not only oppose self-government but might "even secede". The Governor replied that the Gold Coast Government intended to consider and establish regional autonomy in certain matters to be discussed on regional level.

Sierra Leone

TAXATION COMPLAINTS RESULT IN VIOLENCE

In reply to a question by Mr. Creech Jones, M.P., a former Labour Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on January 25 made a statement in the House of Commons on the recent disturbances in Sierra Leone.

He said that since the second half of November disturbances

have occurred in the Northern and South Western Provinces, causing fourteen deaths and considerable damage to property. The police opened fire upon disorderly crowds on twelve occasions but themselves suffered no serious casualties. The situation is now quiet, though certain areas continue to be unsettled.

The immediate cause of the disturbances appeared to have been the prospect of increased local taxation in 1956, together with dissatisfaction over the administration of the local tax laws, said Mr. Lennox-Boyd. The Sierra Leone Government had decided that both the origin of the disorders and the use of force by the police should be investigated by a Commission of Inquiry. Its composition and terms of reference were being considered. Local taxation is meanwhile to be restricted to a maximum of 25s. per head.

DIAMOND MINING AGREEMENT

An Agreement has been reached concerning the exclusive diamond mining rights which had hitherto been held by the Sierra Leone Selection Trust. The area over which the Trust's rights extend is to be reduced to approximately 450 square miles. All existing workings will be included, and the company will be given "a reasonable opportunity for a period of not less than 10 years" to prospect for deep deposits of diamonds and to mine them if found anywhere in Sierra Leone.

The Government is to pay the Trust £1,570,000 in compensation, and it has agreed not to grant diamond prospecting licences or leases before 1975 to any applicants other than Sierra Leoneans, without first offering them to the company. The Agreement has to be ratified by the Legislature. (*Commonwealth Newsletter*.)

French Togoland

U.N. MISSION'S REPORT¹

In the course of its tour of French Togoland, the U.N. Mission ascertained from representatives, groups, and political parties, their wishes regarding the political future of the territory.

The Mission found the following main views advanced by the political parties and splinter groups in the territory. The Parti Togolais du Progrès (P.T.P.) and the Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord Togo (U.C.P.N.) (and their ancillary parties), which at present provide most of the members of the Government Council and the entire membership of the Territorial Assembly, all "vehemently favour" continuing the association of French Togoland with the French Union, and desire the very early termination of Trusteeship so as to enable the territory to become a full member of the French Union. They have no objection to British Togoland, being the much smaller territory, joining French Togoland, provided however that such a unified Togoland remains in the French Union.

The Comité de l'Unité Togolaise (C.U.T.) and the Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise (Juvento) and their ancillary parties, on the other hand, desire the immediate grant of independence to French Togoland so as to enable it

to unite with British Togoland, prior to deciding whether such a unified territory should join the French Union, the Gold Coast or remain independent.

The Mission noted with regret that opposition parties in French Togoland do not have quite the same facilities for carrying on their political activities as is the case in British Togoland. However, the Mission found that north of Sokode, the C.U.T. and the Juvento had few supporters, the people of this area being overwhelmingly in favour of the early integration of French Togoland in the French Union.

In the area south of Sokode, and particularly in the Ewe areas, there is an appreciable body of public opinion supporting the C.U.T. and the Juvento viewpoint, favouring an independent French Togoland unifying with an independent British Togoland, prior to deciding upon the ultimate political future of the unified territories. At the same time, there exists in the same areas very great support for the views of the P.T.P. and its ancillary parties, in favour of continued association with the French Union.

The Mission then observe "while in Togoland under French administration there are, clearly, distinct differences of opinion on the important question of the political future of the country, the Mission considers that only a freely conducted consultation of the wishes of the people of the territory would disclose the real strength of the two opposing views."

The Mission learned that the administration itself contemplates holding in due course some form of consultation with the people to ascertain their wishes for the future, consequent upon the resolution, adopted by the newly elected Territorial Assembly, in favour of terminating the Trusteeship of French Togoland and its incorporation in the French Union . . . It was also glad to hear that the Administering Authority also contemplates certain important constitutional measures, and hopes these will include the introduction of direct election by universal adult suffrage and secret ballot, of members of the Conseils de Circonscription, the grant of greater responsibility and independent authority to such Conseils, as well as to Municipalities, the conferring of greater authority on the Territorial Assembly and increasing the powers of control over the Government Council. As a result of such measures the Mission considered that in a very few years, the Territory should be in a position to express its wishes regarding its political future on the attainment of the objective of Trusteeship, namely, self-government or independence.

The most effective and direct method of ascertaining such wishes of the people would be, as in the case of British Togoland by a plebiscite, which should decide whether the people of Togoland under French administration wish self-government within the French Union, and on what conditions, or whether they desire the termination of their connexion with the French Union and independence.

Though French Togoland is considerably larger than British Togoland, its notable progress in communications, education, medicine and social services, have been financed very largely by aid received from France. The Mission felt it hardly likely that French Togoland would be able as a separate, independent State, to finance the present rate of its development and progress, and therefore considered that future progress would be best ensured by its association with a larger unit. (*United Nations Review*, December, 1955.)

¹Digest, III, 5.

THE SUDAN

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE Sudan became a fully independent sovereign state on January 1, 1956. Prior to the declaration of independence a national Government was formed under the leadership of Ismail el Azhari, Prime Minister of the National Unionist Government. A temporary five-member Council of State has assumed sovereign power.

An amnesty has been declared under which criminals who have served specific part of their sentences and all those convicted of semi-political offences will be released. The amnesty applies only to those sentenced before August 16, so Southerners tried in connexion with the recent disturbances were not included.

EAST AFRICA Kenya

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS REFUSED REGISTRATION

AN attempt to form a Kenya African National Congress has been upset by the Government of Kenya. After a meeting in Nairobi attended by about 1,000 Africans it was announced that a Kenya African National Congress was being formed, with Mr. C. M. Argwings-Kodhek, an African lawyer practising in Nairobi, as president, and that the political policy of the organization would be "slightly left of centre."

The declared aims were to promote political organizations among Africans in Kenya, "to cultivate in them political and civic awakening and consciousness", and to "cultivate mutual relations with other political organizations in Kenya." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 29, 1955.)

The *Economist* commented: "The news that the Government of Kenya has banned a new African political organization, to be called the African National Congress, is not surprising; but it is not a happy omen as a new year opens for the Colony with Mau Mau almost crushed and an election in prospect. It came, moreover, in a week when the same Government banned a book about the trial of Jomo Kenyatta, even after certain required expurgations had apparently been made; and also in a week when the Colonial Secretary in an acrimonious exchange about Kenya with Mrs. Barbara Castle, got decidedly the worse of the political tussle.

"Mrs. Castle made use of her knowledge of the lamentable Kamau Kichina case to direct a general attack on the Kenya administration. Much of her attack was reckless, but it will have done good if it has reminded the Colonial Secretary how risky for him it is not to keep the closest watch on a Colonial Government with such a propensity for perpetrating embarrassing political betises. He needed the reminder at this stage, for there are disturbing signs that Kenya may be putting on political blinkers again.

"Almost any book about Jomo Kenyatta would be unsettling to its African readership just now; and certainly any pan-African movement called a National Congress would be dangerous, carrying, as it does, overtones from the West

Coast, from Nyasaland, and indeed from India. It is dangerous because it would get a great deal of support, Mau Mau is almost finished, and the rehabilitated Kikuyu are filtering slowly back to society and their families from the training centres.

"The multi-racial Government has had nearly two years in which to win the loyalty of the population. The publication of the Coutts report on measures to give Africans a more direct control over their representatives in the legislature is imminent. The Government has itself agreed that Africans must become more active politically, though it thinks that this should be on a district (i.e., a tribal) basis.

"The scene is set for political change in Kenya; but it looks as if the Government does not believe that the Africans can be trusted to make any sort of constructive contribution. This is a bad sign. The obverse of the emergency was supposed to be better political education for Africans. Has it had so little effect?"

In the course of its comment the *Manchester Guardian* (December 22, 1955) said: "It is disturbing that Mr. Windley, the Minister for African Affairs, is reported as saying that in the present security conditions the Government could not permit any Kikuyu, Embu, or Meru to join political associations. One would have thought that, if there was anyone in the world who was entitled to political self-expression, it was the Kikuyu who stood out against the Mau Mau movement. Are they to be disfranchised when others, not tested by Mau Mau, get the vote?"

AFRICAN FRANCHISE PROPOSALS¹

Mr. W. F. Coutts, who was appointed in February 1955 as Special Commissioner to investigate African franchise in Kenya, has submitted his report. The main proposals he has made are that there should be direct voting by Africans by secret ballot; that universal suffrage should not be introduced at present but should instead be limited to a qualitative franchise based on education, experience, public service, achievement, and standing in the community; and that electors exceptionally qualified by education, character, or service, should have additional votes. The set of qualifications state that the candidate should be:

- (a) A qualified elector, with five years' service on an African district council or locational council or on an African court, or ten years' service in a position of responsibility on a farm, in commerce, in the service of the Kenya Government or of a local government authority, or in private service.
- (b) Able to read, write and converse in fluent English.
- (c) Have property, movable or immovable, to an aggregate of £700, or an income of not less than £240 a year.
- (d) Never have been imprisoned.
- (e) Have property in his village, or his father's village, in the constituency for which he wished to stand, and have resided there at least six months in the four years prior to seeking election.
- (f) Be nominated by nine qualified electors from the constituency for which he is standing.

At the same time a White Paper was published outlining the Kenya Government's views on this report. These seek to

¹Population: 42,000 Europeans, 164,000 Asians and Arabs, 5,500,000 Africans. Europeans exercised vote from 1919, Asians from 1927, on separate rolls.

allow a larger number of Africans to have the vote, while accepting the multiple vote. The *Manchester Guardian* (January 11, 1956) described the Government's proposals as follows: "Education, property ownership and public service are important qualifications. Any man over 45 will have a vote on grounds that by then he is regarded by tribal custom as a leader and has a say in the conduct of tribal affairs. For this reason he should have influence, expressed through his vote, in national affairs. Age thus confers in itself eligibility as a voter and does not earn points in the multiple voting scheme.

"Instead of it being necessary for an applicant to prove his qualifications for two additional points, it should be sufficient, in the Government's view, for him to be able to show that he falls within any one of seven categories. In accordance with the principles recommended in the Coutts Report, the qualifications for inclusion in additional categories would entitle the elector concerned to additional votes up to a maximum of three. Women will have a vote, and there should be separate categories for them.

"Mr. Coutts's suggestion that voters must take an oath of allegiance is regarded as impracticable, as it is impossible to administer the oath with suitable dignity to the large number of candidates expected to seek registration.

"The Government agrees that qualifications for candidates for election should exclude the inexperienced and irresponsible. The Government regards the basic qualification required by the Commissioner as undesirably restrictive. Its alternative is that candidates should be registered as voters not under 25, with the educational qualification of having completed an intermediate school course or the equivalent. They should have a proved income of £240 yearly and proof of one of the following—service in the forces, the police or prisons, the grade of elder, a university degree, an approved professional qualification, a past or present membership of the Legislative Council, three years in local government, an African advisory council or court, or hold a civil or a military decoration. He should read, write and converse in fluent English and have his home in the constituency for which he proposes to stand.

"The Government is less restrictive on the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru than Mr. Coutts, who held that anyone who had taken a Mau Mau oath should not be entitled to vote. The alternative proposed is that the District Commissioner—not the locational council—should decide whether such a man is entitled to a vote or not. The D.C. is authorized to take the advice of the locational councils, but need not necessarily accept it. Councillors, being themselves electors, might have an interest in the outcome of the election, unlike the D.C.

"While attaching great importance to the criterion of loyalty, the Government takes a positive rather than a negative line.

"No Kikuyu (or member of the related tribes) may stand for election outside the Central Province or Nairobi. Members of the tribes living outside the Central Province are only permitted to vote for a candidate within the province, or in Nairobi, if they are qualified by residence to do so. The Government gives qualified acceptance, for the forthcoming election only, to the proposal that civil servants should be allowed to stand as candidates. Permission to stand will not be granted to a member of the Overseas Civil Service, of the uniformed disciplined services of the Colony, or to any civil servant concerned with policy to such a degree that would make it

undesirable for him to take part in active politics. The preparation of electoral rolls will be a formidable task. It is possible that the arrangements may not be complete by next September. If so, the election of new African members will be deferred, and the present members will continue to sit until the rolls can be completed. In any case the Government intends that these elections should take place before the end of March, 1957."

The *Manchester Guardian* estimated that at the start of the scheme there might be something like 2 million African voters.

Before the publication of these proposals *The Times* in an editorial (December 29, 1955) criticized the principle of the multiple vote and said: "There may or may not be a solution to the dilemma of the plural society; no one will maintain that it has yet been found, even in theory; but certainly this well-meaning but artificial contrivance of giving one man several votes is not the way. If it were derived, like the old British plural vote, from the idea of a community within the nation, which the tribal African understands, it would have a chance. But it is being offered as part of a system built up on the rights of the individual; and to that system it does not belong."

The *Kenya Weekly News* (January 6, 1956) said *The Times* did not recognize the fact "which many settlers overlook, that neither the Common Roll nor the Communal Roll can provide the European community with the political security that they seek. The terms of the franchise for a Common Roll could be so devised that the European vote would be swamped. The political influence of the European community could equally be reduced to the negligible by an arbitrary increase of the number of Africans returned to the legislature by a Communal Roll."

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 11, 1956) welcomed the Coutts Report and the Kenya Government's proposals but criticized some of the qualifications for candidates. It asked whether it is practicable to assess "calibre and character" by regulation; whether residence in a constituency would not exclude many good candidates as so many well qualified men are employed in Nairobi; and said "another clause excludes anyone who has been in prison. That keeps out all convicted of Mau Mau offences. But good gracious! Where should we be without Mr. de Valera, Mr. Nehru, and Dr. Nkrumah—not to speak of Mr. Herbert Morrison?"

But the editorial added: "As the tension dies away some of these restrictions will go with it. Meanwhile it is right to get the principle of direct election established and the machine working."

African Unofficial Members of the Kenya Legislative Council said the Government proposals on the African franchise for future elections were a great advance in African politics in Kenya. A statement said the proposals were a foundation for progress but regretted that multiple voting had been approved.

One of the members said that since non-Africans in Kenya had a system of "one man one vote", Africans would regard any other system with suspicion. Mr. E. W. Mathu said: "Africans would have been happier to start with a limited franchise but on the same terms as others." (*Pretoria News*, January 11, 1956.)

In a broadcast comment on the B.B.C., Lord Hailey said: "The present proposals, which award votes to those who qualify under a complex points system, seem to me to be not

so much unreasonable as so complicated that, even if they are accepted by the Legislature next month, they are unlikely to stand for any length of time." He concluded: "But the main point I want to make is that there is nothing revolutionary in this proposed extension of the vote to Africans. I need not quote the British West Africa Colonies, where in some cases there is already an African franchise based on a system of universal suffrage; it is enough to mention that Africans have the vote in Southern Rhodesia, though the qualifications there are fixed on a basis that gives them only a minimum of voting power. Today only about 470 voters as against 48,000 Europeans are on the register. So it is not the principle that is at stake. But I repeat that to my mind it would have been more practical to allow the Africans an increased membership in the Legislature now, than to wait until circumstances made it possible to introduce a franchise free from safeguards which will only create a new series of difficulties for the Administration." (*Listener*, January 19, 1956.)

POLICE ADMINISTRATION

In the House of Commons Mrs. Barbara Castle (Labour) raised the question of the Kenya Police in an adjournment debate. She reviewed the Court records in the Kamau Kichina case¹ and referred to the transfer of a senior District Officer, Mr. Richmond, who "withheld important evidence", misled the doctor in the case, and "incited the villagers" against the prisoner, Kamau Kichina, so that they tried to lynch him. She reported that no action had been taken against this District Officer and that he had been transferred to another part of Kenya with the same rank and status. Mrs. Castle asked: "I suggest that all this cries out for an inquiry. There are a hundred and one questions which have never been probed by the Colonial Secretary as they ought to have been probed if he cared passionately for the name of British justice. Why was the charge of murder against these two police officers, Fuller and Waters, dropped? On October 26, the Colonial Secretary told me that it was because the medical evidence of the witness, Dr. Brown, was not strong enough at the inquest to cause the magistrate to suspend the hearing, and to say that a case for a charge of murder had been made out. Why then was that evidence modified at the preliminary inquiry held seven days later?"

"Is there any doubt that the injuries which Kamau Kichina suffered during those five terrible days and the exposure to which he was subjected had at the very least accelerated his death? I am told by legal friends that if that were so, at the very least a charge of manslaughter ought to have been brought instead of a charge of causing grievous bodily harm, which led the magistrate to give a derisory sentence of 18 months' imprisonment. Why did the magistrate pass a sentence of 18 months when he had the discretionary power to send the men to prison for seven years, even for the crime of causing grievous bodily harm?"

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, said that he could not make a statement about the District Officer as the matter is *sub judice*. He agreed to make all the relevant papers available in the Library of the House with regard to "the most distressing case" of Kamau Kichina and referred to his previous statement on October 26 when he had expressed his great distress and when "no attempt whatever

was made to defend the seriousness of a disgraceful state of affairs."

The Colonial Secretary agreed with Mr. James Griffiths (Labour) that the fullest possible discussion of these issues was desirable. (*Hansard*, December 21, 1955.)

AFRICAN TRADE UNION LEADER'S VIEWS

Mr. Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, said at a press conference in London (January 9, 1956) that with the decline of the shooting war in Kenya, a number of issues, which have long been neglected under the plea of expediency, remain to be settled urgently. The non-existence of the Rule of Law could no longer be disguised or ignored. Although a number of cases had now been brought before the courts, this did not excuse the fact that many abuses had not been dealt with in the past.

The system of district government, coupled with Emergency Powers, has resulted in a confusion of administrative, police and magisterial powers—all of which are possessed by each District Commissioner. There are three obvious and fundamentally important dangers in consequence. Firstly the appearance of impartial judgement by a District Commissioner in Kenya is impossible and the practice excessively difficult. Secondly appeals against atrocities committed by members of the Security Forces have little chance of being properly looked into; and Africans wishing to make such appeals did not know which authority they should go to. Thirdly the excessive powers held by the District Commissioner could easily be abused, and in fact have frequently been so.

Mr. Mboya said that the problems resulting from administrative, police and magisterial powers being vested in one authority had arisen before the Emergency as well as during it. The system needed reconsideration quite apart from the present Emergency. He said that members of the Police Reserve and the African Home Guard were, in his opinion, more guilty of atrocities than members of the other security forces.

Members of the Kenya Federation of Labour supported the recommendations of both Colonel Young and the Kenya Police Commission that the police should be separated from the Administration.

Discussing the Kenya Government's policy towards the setting up of African political parties, Mr. Mboya said that their decision to permit these only on a district basis showed a deliberate policy of identifying them with tribal associations, with the intention of denying Africans any means of expression above the tribal level. Such promotion of tribalism was incompatible with the principles of multi-racialism on which the Kenya Government was meant to be based. "Further, the denial of political rights to members of the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes was almost unbelievable. He said "If there is anyone who deserves credit for their part in the struggle against Mau Mau, it is the loyal Kikuyu who have been faithful to the Government, and courageous enough to make a stand, and these people are to be denied political freedom."

In a statement issued last year by the Kenya Federation of Labour, they had drawn the Government's attention to the fact that while the Africans were being allowed no freedom of political expression, European political organizations were

¹DIGEST, III, 4, 5.

being permitted to hold meetings and pass some very inflammatory resolutions "even to the extent of interfering with the prosecution of the Emergency."

A further denial of justice was the detention of thousands of Africans without trial. Mr. Mboya said that last year the Federation of Labour had appealed against the decision of the screening teams who had dealt with thirty-nine Trade Union leaders. Because these men were known to them, they had been able to bring sufficient evidence to warrant their re-screening, and as a result seventeen of them had been released. But as far as he was aware the Government had not then ordered the re-screening of others.

Among those detained was Mr. Walter Odede.¹ He had not been tried. He was an African Member of the Legislative Council at the time of his arrest. Many Africans were convinced of his innocence and demanded that if there was insufficient evidence for him to be brought to trial, he should be released immediately.

In addition to the fundamental question of the justice of the detention orders, there were many social problems which had arisen, and to which little or no attention had been paid. Children and other dependents of detainees had been left without protection. The property of the detainees was left without care. There was no security of employment for men detained or kept in camps awaiting screening. If they were eventually released they found that their jobs had been taken by others and that they had lost any privileges due to them in their previous work. The Government had only helped those who had been employed in government service.

There was also the question of forced labour. Detainees were put to work on various projects inside and outside the camps.

In the opinion of the Federation some progress had been made in industry with the application of the Carpenter and Ladbury Reports. The reports of Committees on social security and wages of rural workers were expected this year.

The Federation, however, could not accept the views of the East Africa Royal Commission Report on Trade Unions. It was not necessary that Trade Unionism in East Africa should develop along similar lines to that in Britain.

Finally, Mr. Mboya said that nothing short of immediate constitutional reform would bridge the gap which now exists between the Africans and the other races in Kenya. The Colonial Office should immediately take steps to hold discussions on these questions, and a broad declaration of government policy about the eventual government of Kenya should be made. Any interim form of government must be clearly designed to achieve the declared aim. In the opinion of the Federation of Labour reforms must include:—

- (a) The extension of the franchise to the Africans on the basis of one man one vote.
- (b) The provision of adequate representation in the Legislative Council and other governmental institutions. This must take into account the relative size of the various racial groups.
- (c) The legal abolition of colour discrimination in schools, hospitals, hotels and other public places.
- (d) An immediate ban on further immigration of European settlers and Asians to Kenya.

¹Digest, III, 5.

- (e) A programme of compulsory free education for Africans should be introduced immediately, beginning in the towns.

Enlarging upon the reasons for their demand that no further European settlers should be allowed in Kenya, Mr. Mboya said that the root of all Kenya's problems was land. Settlers would have land allocated to them somewhere, and the situation would be further aggravated. He deplored the trend in Government policy which was revealed by their recent decision to spend £350,000 for the encouragement of European immigration, over three years.

MR. BLUNDELL'S POLICY STATEMENT

Mr. Michael Blundell, Minister of Agriculture, in announcing that he would stand for re-election as Member for Rift Valley at the end of 1956, stated the principles upon which he will stand. In the course of his statement he said: "It is essential to stand for the continuance of our own ideas and influence in this country; without it the country would inevitably revert to the fractured jigsaw puzzle and tribal patchwork of the past. It is likely that during this period we shall have a difficult time in dealing with an increasing flow of racial emotionalism, and I think this word is better than nationalism, among the African people. Unless wisely guided and controlled it will carry within it the power to put back much that we have achieved here.

"Part of our task, therefore, is to provide policies and opportunities which will capture the rising thoughts of the African people themselves . . . It follows, therefore, that I want to continue the progress towards responsible government by increasing the participation in the government of this country of our own farmers and townsmen.

"This cannot be done without wise policies which will enlist the support of all races in the country. We so often claim leadership, and as I see it, to achieve a greater share here in government, we must become the leaders for all and not only for ourselves, creating better conditions and looking after not only the blisters on our own feet but those of everyone else in the difficult march ahead."

Mr. Blundell advocated partnership between the races. He added: "It seems to me that the great issues before us, a small minority like a flare path on the vast fields of the African continent, is what will be our relations with the African and the Asian people in this country in twenty-five years time." The immediate objective on which to concentrate, he said, is the strong economic development of Kenya. (*Kenya Weekly News*, January 20, 1956.)

In editorial comment, *East Africa & Rhodesia* (January 26, 1956) described Mr. Blundell's statements as general, "and sometimes so ambiguous or contradictory, that even careful study of the recorded text yields only a blurred impression. What Kenya requires are absolutely clear pronouncements upon her problems from all candidates for the Legislature, and especially from Ministers." The editorial considered Mr. Blundell's reference to "twenty-five years time", as astonishing, and added that "Kenya's future will be decided by what is done in the next five years at most, and quite possibly by the actions or inaction in a still shorter period . . ."

NEW EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

African guards stationed on European farms in Kenya may

now shoot on sight at Mau Mau raiding parties, and need not challenge persons lurking near farms during curfew hours. A Government spokesman explained the measure by saying: "To require guards to withhold their fire after they have challenged raiders would not only expose them to unwarrantably grave personal dangers, but would frequently result in the escape of the raiders." (*Manchester Guardian*, December 14, 1955.)

The death penalty under the Emergency Regulations for unlawful possession of ammunition will be reduced to life imprisonment for a trial period of three months. This relaxation covers the possession of ammunition in circumstances such as to raise a reasonable presumption that the ammunition is intended to be used in a manner or for a purpose prejudicial to public safety or the maintenance of public order. For the same experimental period, the penalty for unlawfully possessing ammunition in any other circumstances will be reduced from imprisonment for life to imprisonment for ten years . . .

It is now considered that, in view of the greatly improved Emergency situation and having regard to both the nature of the offence—which is constituted by the possession of even a single round of ammunition—and the inherent danger of "plants", the retention of the death penalty for this offence is no longer warranted . . .

The situation is still such, however, that the terrorist who is himself equipped—or who is a member of a gang which is equipped—to kill, must continue to be liable to the death penalty. But some gang-members now employ lesser gang-members as gun-bearers, carrying only ammunition themselves while other gang-members may happen to have neither gun nor ammunition in their possession at the time of capture.

It is, therefore, considered necessary that a terrorist who is either captured in possession of a firearm or is proved to have been in possession of a firearm before capture, and a terrorist who is proved to have consorted with other terrorists armed with firearms, should be subject to the death penalty . . . (*East African Standard*, December 29, 1955.)

EUROPEAN-AFRICAN CO-OPERATION IN EXTENDING HOSPITAL

A joint effort by European coffee planters in the Kiambu area and the Kenya Government, has resulted in the building of a new £4,500 extension to the Kiambu African Hospital.

It is in memory of the late Senior Chief Waruhiu, who was murdered by Mau Mau just before the declaration of Kenya's State of Emergency.

At the recent opening of the extension and the unveiling of a bust of the late chief, representatives of the farmers, the Government and Kikuyu loyalists paid tribute to the work of the great leader who had always stood for co-operation between his African people and Europeans. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, December 31, 1955.)

CHRISTIAN AID IN REHABILITATION

The British Council of Churches reports that in response to its appeal in February, 1955, to help the rehabilitation of the Kikuyu, £40,000 has been donated. To date seven workers have been specially recruited for work in the prisons and camps, in the newly formed villages, and in the reserves and urban districts. They are also trying to open infant welfare centres and to develop training schemes for African rehabilita-

tion workers. Five community centres are planned for Nairobi, and building on four permanent centres has begun, meanwhile two centres are open in temporary quarters. The important emphasis of this rehabilitation programme is to help the Africans to rebuild their own life on a Christian basis. The Council adds that money is still urgently needed for this work and donations will be welcomed.

Tanganyika

THE ENDING OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ADVOCATED

THE Tanganyika National Society has published its programme which states that in its opinion Tanganyika's needs are: (i) a goal for all its inhabitants of common citizenship; (ii) one loyalty to Tanganyika eventually self-governed within the Commonwealth; (iii) abolition of all elements of racial discrimination; (iv) protection of civilized standards and values; (v) a single system of voting open to all but based on mutually agreed qualifications such as property or salary, education, character and evidence of responsibility, and attested loyalty to Tanganyika regardless of race or origin; (vi) recognition that only the attainment of social stability between races will allow for full development economically; (vii) to support any political party or candidate in a territorial election who wholeheartedly supports the society's philosophy and aims.

The Times (January 23, 1956) commented that under this new programme the election of an African to represent a constituency in which there are large European interests, or as a Prime Minister of Tanganyika, would be possible.

Uganda

APPOINTMENT OF NEW CHIEFS

THE resignations of four *saza* chiefs has resulted in the following appointments: Mr. A. Lule becomes Kago of Kyando; Mr. C. M. S. Kisosonkole, Sekibobo of Kyagwe; Mr. Juma Tomusange, Lumona of Kabula; and Mr. Y. Musoke, Pokino of Buddu. These selections were made by the Buganda Appointments Board, the members of which, under the new constitution, are appointed by the Kabaka.

In editorial comment the *Uganda Argus* (December 31, 1955) drew attention to the fact that only Mr. Y. Musoke had the experience which in the past had been deemed necessary for men administering these *sazas*. Mr. Lule had hitherto been Keeper of the Kabaka's Privy Purse, and had spent most of his life in the Finance Department of the Buganda Government; Mr. Kisosonkole, who is the Kabaka's father-in-law, was Secretary to the Lukiko for many years and has held positions in the East African Literature Bureau and the Community Development department of the Uganda Government; and Mr. Tomusange was a businessman and one of the Kabaka's nominees in the Lukiko.

The editorial stated: "The real test, it has always been clear, of the Appointments Board's intentions and capacity would be the choices that it made to fill the vacancies it had for one reason or another created. In appointing to three of the four vacancies, including the two that are the most important, men who, however talented, have in one case little and in the

other cases no direct experience of the work of a senior Chief, it would seem to be taking a risk. It is taking this risk for reasons that are not very obvious in terms of the job that the Board is supposed to do . . . This is the moment when the Kabaka's Government is assuming new responsibilities and when it is essential that administration should be efficient. It is a development that is important not only for Buganda but for the progress of the Protectorate as a whole. It will now be up to the holders of these offices to justify the confidence that the Appointments Board has shown in them, and the confidence they have shown in themselves by accepting appointment."

MOTION ON ELECTIONS BY 1957 DEFEATED

The Uganda Legislative Council rejected by forty-five votes to nine a motion proposed by Dr. E. M. K. Muwazi, which urged the early establishment of machinery to enable direct elections of all representative members of the Council to be held by 1957. Dr. Muwazi wanted direct elections on a common roll. Kenya was ahead of Uganda in this respect, he said.

Members of the Legislative Council who are members of the Uganda National Congress supported the motion, but other African representatives felt the time was not ripe. European members were mainly opposed to the words "by 1957" though Mr. J. T. Simpson, supported the motion, while not committing himself to any specific time, and urged the Government to begin consideration of fundamental matters of self-government.

REACTIONS TO REPRISALS AGAINST BAGANDA CHIEFS

Following on an incident in Bulemezi when a *muluka* (parish) chief was attacked, Mr. Antonio Gita, the Chief Justice of Buganda, broadcast a warning that the Kabaka's Government would not stand by and see its chiefs, who were delegates of the ruler, attacked. "Such actions degrade the dignity of the Kabaka's chiefs, of the nation, and of our traditional respect for the Kabaka," he said.

Another of the Kabaka's Ministers, Mr. Mukubira, has visited Kapeka, the village where the attack took place. He has submitted a report to the Katikiro.

An incident which took place during the Kabaka's visit to Bulemezi was reported in the *Empya* (January 5, 1956). Gombolola Chief Sabawali of Bulemezi was accused in front of the Kabaka of being a traitor. The Kabaka instructed the Katikiro to explain matters to the chief's accusers.

The organizing secretary of the Uganda National Congress, Mr. Paulo Muwanga, made a tour of the Buganda sazas during December. He stated on his return that at public meetings in all the main centres he had urged the people not to take part in persecutions. Mr. Muwanga had talks with officials of Congress. He said his party's view, which he emphasized to his audiences, was that it was a sheer waste of time for people to attempt to take the law into their own hands and indulge in intimidation of those who had allegedly not supported the campaign for the return of the Kabaka from exile. Such actions were delaying the time for self-government, and he urged people to obey the Kabaka's order to stop these acts of violence. (*The Times*, December 28, 1955.)

Six Baganda who were described as ringleaders of a riot at Ngogwe, Eastern Buganda, on November 17, 1955, have

been sentenced to terms of hard labour ranging from twelve to eighteen months. (*The Times*, December 29, 1955.)

INDIVIDUAL LAND OWNERSHIP BY AFRICANS

Proposals for important changes in land policy have been announced by the Uganda Government, involving a re-definition of the status of land in the Protectorate and the encouragement of individual land ownership by Africans. The proposals concern only those areas of Uganda outside Buganda, but it is officially stated that discussions are to be started with the Kabaka's Government with a view to modifications in the status of land in Buganda, vested in the Crown under the Buganda Agreement.

It is recommended that all Crown land, apart from that in gazetted townships and trading centres and Crown land now held for public purposes by either the Protectorate or local governments, should in future be known as African land.

The Government statement points out that the customary forms of land tenure cannot satisfactorily meet the circumstances of land shortage and economic pressures. A registrable title would give security to land holders, and would enable land to become a negotiable asset—which it is not at present in areas outside Buganda. Buganda has a system of land titles known as *mailo* created by the Uganda agreement of 1900. The proposals would also amend present provisions under which the Protectorate or local governments could dispose of land or acquire it for public purposes. Compulsory acquisition would be limited to public purposes, such as roads, hospitals, etc., and would not be possible for economic projects. At present the Land Acquisition Act, an applied Indian Law allowing for acquisition both by Government and by commercial companies acting through the Government, is in force.

The Uganda Government, in announcing its proposals emphasized that no decisions would be made on them until full and detailed discussions had been held throughout the country. (*The Times*, January 6, 1956.)

OPPOSITION TO EAST AFRICA HIGH COMMISSION

Two Uganda vernacular newspapers have protested against the intention of the East Africa High Commission to publish a magazine. The *Empya* said that the magazine, which is to be sold at 20 cents, is likely to kill the African Press. The *Eyogera* supported this view. It added that the aim of the East Africa High Commission was to bring about Federation, and it advised the Baganda Legco members not to accept appointment on the Central Legislature.

Somaliland

ARRANGEMENTS FOR FINANCIAL CONTROL

A NEW system of financial control, which will give the Somali members of the new Legislative Council some effective responsibility for financial matters, is outlined in a Colonial Office White Paper.¹

In February 1955, Orders in Council provided for the establishment of Legislative and Executive Councils—the former consisting of the Governor as President, not more than eight officials and not more than six unofficial members; the

¹Cmd. 9666, December 1955. Price 6d. H.M.S.O.

latter consisting entirely of official members for the time being.

Since 1948, when the Colonial Office resumed responsibility for administration of the Protectorate, the Government has provided an annual grant-in-aid. In 1954-5 this amounted to £404,000.

The White Paper adds: "The position thus revealed is one where the Protectorate relies on U.K. grants-in-aid for a substantial part of the expenditure of its budget and can make little economic or social progress without direct financial assistance." The new arrangements create "a direct connexion between local fiscal endeavour and achievements in those public services on which public attention is at present the most concentrated and where expenditure increases in the near future are the most probable", and creates a reserve fund.

SOMALIS STATE THEIR CASE IN LONDON

Mr. Michael Mariano and Sultan Behi Momeen, the Delegation from the Somaliland Protectorate, and Mr. Hussein, Delegate from Somalia (Italian Trust Territory), addressed a press conference in London on their return from the United Nations Assembly.

Mr. Mariano said that their request for their case to be referred to the International Court of Justice¹ for an advisory opinion, had not been put on the agenda as their friends had felt it impossible to do anything at this session after France's walk-out. But they would continue to do everything possible to have the question raised at the U.N.

With regard to the transfer of the Haud to Ethiopia, Mr. Mariano said the British Government's promises of independence for Somaliland were empty words as long as the Haud was not a part of their country. Forty per cent of the Somalis went there for the greater part of the year, and, while there, are denied human rights: they are denied political expression, and there are no more than two elementary schools of two classes each, there.

In May 1955, his delegation had asked the Colonial Secretary what the British Government was doing about Somaliland's independence, and asked for a date to be set, and for their desire for some form of unification with Somalia to be considered. The Somalis are of the same race and language, and Somalia is to get independence in 1960. The British Government has now ruled Somaliland for seventy years but they have nothing to show for this in the economic or educational field. Only last year the first secondary school was started, and it took only fifteen boys. After pressure, it is to take twenty-five a year.

Mr. Mariano expressed appreciation of the new Legislative Council arrangements, of the Grants-in-Aid made, and of the new financial proposals, but he said that unless there is a plan for Somaliland in the mind of the Colonial Secretary, there will be no real progress.

The Somalis were asking themselves what they had to show for being British Protected Persons? About one-third of their country had been given to Ethiopia, and Ethiopia could exercise final control over the lives of those living there. Considering the qualifications of the British in the fields of education and technology, Mr. Mariano said his people felt their state to be a blot on British achievement. "We realize our funds are limited, but have you to be an enemy to obtain aid

from Britain?" he asked, "If Britain finds it is a loss to stay in Somaliland, it is better to be frank."

The present conditions were the best way to ensure that people would be demoralized, and to make it a ripe field for agitators and violence. He felt Britain should justify her stewardship by substantial plans for development and preparation for independence. He referred to developments in Aden and the Sudan, which he thought could be an example for Somaliland, and estimated that the Colonial Office would regard £4-5 million expenditure on development in Somaliland very heavy.

Mr. Hussein and Mr. Mariano compared developments in Somalia and in Somaliland. Two hundred students from Somalia are getting higher education in Italy, two hundred and fifty in Egypt. Only twenty-five from Somaliland are in Britain, and sixty in Egypt. (The populations are approximately 1 million and 700,000 respectively.) Somalia has had elections, and will be independent in 1960. It has a legal right to present its case at the U.N.

Mr. Mariano added: "I notice that having a target date for independence makes a great difference—for instance the existence of such a date in Somalia had given Somalis their first chance to occupy such offices as those of district commissioner, assistant district commissioner, lieutenant of police, and understudy to the heads of Government departments, as the United Nations instructed. There are U.N. representatives in Mogadishu to ensure that this is done.

"We want our independence date fixed and by 1960 we want a five-year plan for economic development so that we know what Her Majesty's Government wishes. Personally I don't like being dependent on economic aid indefinitely. I hope something like the Gezira scheme will be possible which will enable the British tax payer to get something back and we can stand on our own feet. The experts have said there is enough good land to support the whole country and even export certain things. This would enable people to raise the standard of living then increase taxation and stand on our own feet. The country is now so poor. I feel £5,000,000 devoted to agriculture and irrigation would help put agriculture on a sound basis and nomads would be helped to see the advantages of settling. This would ease the position in the Haud but not entirely solve it as some will remain nomads."

Sultan Behi Momeen was asked to give his opinion of the United Nations, and said with a smile: "The first impression I have of the U.N. is that it is a place where powerful Governments meet together, and they have laid down regulations to prevent any help being given to weaker people; and those who would be likely to help are prevented from it because of their friendly relationships with each other, or because they fear they may be said to be out of order. The members of the United Nations are all friends. Each one has interests with another party and is careful not to hurt the other country's feelings. I do not think it is a place which is intended for the benefit of the poor and weak people."

COLONIAL SECRETARY SEES SOMALI DELEGATION

The following communique was issued in London by the Colonial Office (January 16, 1956):—

"Sultan Behi Momeen and Mr. Michael Mariano, the Delegation from the Somaliland Protectorate, saw the

¹Digest, III, 5.

Secretary of State for the Colonies on Friday, January 13, 1956.

"They represented to him the aspirations of the people of the Protectorate with regard to the achievement of future self-government within the Commonwealth, and of some form of political closer association between the Protectorate and the Trust Territory of Somalia. They made representations as to the provision of higher education, an acceleration of the taking over by Somalis of posts in the higher branches of the Civil Service, and the promotion of agricultural schemes to make the Protectorate more self-supporting.

"The Secretary of State received the representations of the Delegation with the utmost sympathy and with regard to Her Majesty's Government's future policy said that the wishes of the Somali people themselves would be a factor of decisive importance, and that he hoped it would be possible for Her Majesty's Government to make a public announcement within a few months.

"With regard to their representations for an increase of higher education and other developments, he assured them that Her Majesty's Government intended to give all feasible assistance towards vigorous advance. In particular, the educational services of the Protectorate were to be reviewed to see to what extent further improvements and expansions could be made, and the Secretary of State intended to send one of his senior Educational Advisers to the Protectorate on an early visit."

MR. JAMES JOHNSON, M.P., VISITS SOMALILAND

Mr. James Johnson, M.P. (Labour), the first British M.P. to have visited Somaliland, was invited by the National United Front.¹ He travelled widely in the territory, visited local authorities, the Governor and other British representatives, attended large meetings and met leading chiefs and elders. Everywhere he was given a warm welcome.

Before he left Hargeisa, Mr. Johnson gave a farewell broadcast over Radio Somali and thanked everyone for their kindness. He continued, "Now for my impressions. I think the first and foremost is your loyalty to the Queen and to Britain and believe me, when I see the difficulties you are suffering, it amazes me how loyal you are and, how shall I say—evenly balanced—you are in this most difficult time. I shall convey this of course, to the Government in the United Kingdom and tell them how well you are behaving at this time."

Mr. Johnson went on to stress the need for more education particularly for young women. After remarking that he had seen a great deal of the country in his short stay and also had visited Harar where he had seen Mohamed Bogorreh in gaol there, he concluded by saying "you need leadership and discipline and I believe you have both. I think you have excellent men at the head of your movement. In the future then equip yourselves to stand beside your Somali cousins in the south and west. In 1960 Somalia will be independent and I do hope that in the 60's you will have a happier time.

"For the time being hold fast. Very often we say in English 'the darkness comes before the dawn'. I think, the two chief virtues that you need in any difficult time, particularly in a difficult political situation, are loyalty and courage. I think you have both in abundance, so I do say to you hold fast and I hope

that better times will surely come." (*War Somali Sidihi*,¹ December 31, 1955).

SOMALI COMPLAINT AGAINST ETHIOPIA

The discussions between British officials from Somaliland and Ethiopian officials, in connexion with disputes within the grazing lands restored to Ethiopian administration, are continuing. In the Protectorate Advisory Council the Government explained that these talks had been arranged "in order to find out why the Ethiopian authorities are not allowing the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement to work as it was intended to work. For example:—

(a) Akils and Elders of the tribal organizations and Illalos have been arrested and have been prevented from doing their work;

(b) rival Ethiopian akils are appointed as representatives of tribes which are then declared to be Ethiopian tribes;

(c) refusal to allow the social services to operate freely;

(d) conversion of grazing land to agriculture despite provisions of Article II of the Agreement and consequent treatment of whole tribes as Ethiopians because few till the land.

"Because of these serious breaches of the Agreement it has been found necessary to arrange a meeting in order to make known our grave dissatisfaction with the way in which the Ethiopians are operating the Agreement and to ascertain more clearly exactly what the Ethiopian intentions are." (*War Somali Sidihi*, October 22, 1955.)

General

COMMISSIONS FOR EAST AFRICANS REGARDLESS OF RACE

RESIDENTS of East Africa, regardless of race, who are British subjects or British-protected persons, will now be able to obtain commissions in the East African land forces, and will be trained at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. A Colonial Office statement said: "This measure is designed to encourage the territories of East Africa to provide officers for their own military forces. It opens up the possibility of careers as officers in the service of East Africa." (*Manchester Guardian*, January 4, 1956.)

EAST AFRICAN MEMORIAL

General Sir Alan Cunningham, who commanded the East African forces in the attack on Somalia and Ethiopia in 1941, unveiled the East Africa Memorial erected to the 2,402 men and women who fell in the campaigns in the Somaliland Protectorate, Ethiopia, Kenya and Madagascar during the 1939-45 war, and have no known grave . . . In the course of his address General Cunningham said: "It is almost exactly 15 years ago that, on February 11, 1941, the troops of East Africa Force, formed of units of all these different races, marched out on the first stage of the journey towards their goal. Thereafter side by side, and shoulder to shoulder, with all thought of differences of creed or race submerged in a common object, they fought on, in close co-operation and with ever-increasing mutual respect, to save Africa from the tyranny of the dictators. By these means only could success have been

¹Published by Information Department, Somaliland.

¹Which Mr. Mariano represents.

won, with the result that all Africa south of the Mediterranean shores was saved to work out its own destiny.

"Now once again has Africa reached a critical stage. All of us who were associated so closely together in the comradeship of those distant days will pray that once again by the same methods of co-operation, goodwill, and mutual trust the various peoples of this continent will solve their problems and bring peace and prosperity to their lands. Then those whom we are honouring here today, and those near to them whom they left behind, may feel that their sacrifice has not been in vain." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, January 26, 1956.)

CENTRAL AFRICA

The Federation

FEDERAL M.P. FOR AFRICAN INTERESTS BROADCASTS IN BRITAIN

IN a talk on the B.B.C. Home Service (January 17, 1956) the Rev. Andrew Doig, representative for African Interests from Nyasaland in the Federal Parliament, said: "It's awfully important to understand that the Africans are still opposed to the scheme of Federation. In the Federal Assembly there are six African representatives out of a total of thirty-five. His representatives to the Assembly are there to hold a watching brief, and their presence should not be taken as suggesting African support of Federation. It is not an exaggeration to say that when Federation was imposed—and it was imposed—the Africans lost a lot of the confidence they had in the British Government and people. It brought a sense of frustration and a dangerous swing towards a bitterness formerly unknown. Federation can survive, but only if African confidence in the new form of government is won; and if we demonstrate partnership in a very practical way.

"Here we have three territories of very varying history and composition brought together in a Federation. There are too many people in responsible posts who see Federation only as a temporary expedient till they get what they really want—Amalgamation and a complete break with the Colonial Office. So they want the three territories to conform more and more to a single pattern, instead of aiming conscientiously at declaring the freedom that should surely exist in a Federation for each state to develop institutions best suited to its population. For example, Nyasaland is an African state, but a hue and cry is raised by many Europeans at any possibility of Nyasaland becoming a Gold Coast or at any measure whereby the Federal House might have to receive as the members for Nyasaland a predominantly non-European representation. It is laid down that—and here I'm quoting—'as regards amendments of the Territorial constitutions . . . Her Majesty's ministers would naturally seek the views of the Federal Government before advising Her Majesty'. Well—the Nyasaland Africans are gravely suspicious that in the recent discussions on amending the territorial constitution, and in future discussions, the need to consult with the Federal Government will work against their interests. Here's the key question. Is the Federal Government in association with the British Government prepared to declare openly that it would support the natural constitutional developments of Nyasaland as primarily

an African state? And would they agree to see this reflected more and more in the constitution of Nyasaland and in the Assembly membership? Nothing less than this will make any impression on the Africans.

"Now one of the main concerns of the new Federal Government is Immigration. Most people would admit the need for a selective policy of immigration, but it's only just and safe if at the same time, the Government patently recognizes the tremendous potential of the local inhabitants, and is prepared to go to great lengths to demonstrate it. It can do so by making large financial provision for the rapid advancement of African personnel and by freely receiving them on equal terms with Europeans into the public service. The exclusion of the African from trained posts on the Rhodesian Railways (a Federal responsibility) must cease. The entrance qualifications for all grades and branches of the public service must be clearly stated and entry freely given to all races into the training courses. It's a thousand pities that Colonial Development and Welfare grants for scholarships ceased with the coming of Federation. But the necessary money must be found by the Federal Government and the Territorial Governments. It won't do to dismiss it all lightly, saying we can't afford it. We must, for expenditure here will pay large dividends in trained personnel and make a real contribution to winning African confidence.

"Another real test comes at the point where the Federal Government and British Government responsibilities meet. Take one example. There's a great development project for Nyasaland—the Shire Valley Scheme. Under the Constitution, such a scheme is Federal. But part of the scheme is the reclaiming of half a million acres of land for settlement and cultivation and that land is African Trust Land, so the responsibility of the British Government is clear. Already there's a plea that European immigrants be allowed into that area, if Federal money is to finance the scheme. Britain must recognize her responsibility here and commit herself financially to the scheme so that she will be able to have the major say in the use of these lands. And at an early date, Britain must indicate to the Africans how it will all be carried out.

"Winning African confidence is the first challenge to the Federal Government. The few problems I have had time to mention and many others will prove decisive in the next few years. How they are solved will largely determine whether Nyasaland will make its great contribution to a fully multi-racial state or throw its weight on the side of an exclusive African nationalism."

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES AND PARTIES

There has been considerable activity among the opposition parties in Southern Rhodesian and Federal politics. The resignation of Mr. J. R. Dendy Young (M.P. for Sebakwe) as leader of the Confederate Party was announced after a meeting of the national executive of the party. In his place Mr. C. A. Aitken was appointed as acting leader. Mr. Dendy Young will take up his appointment as a judge on February 1, 1956, by when he will also have to resign his parliamentary seat.

It was also announced that plans were being made for the formation of a joint opposition party, consisting of the Confederate Party, the group under Mr. Van Eeden, M.P.¹ and other anti-Federal Party interests.

¹DIGEST, III, 3.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. R. O. Stockil, leader of the Rhodesia Party, announced a plan to re-establish this party "so that it may take an active part in both Federal and Territorial fields in the next general election."

Later the creation of a pact between the Confederate Party and Mr. Van Eeden was announced and Mr. Aitken said that in this new Commonwealth Party, Briton and Afrikaner would be united as Rhodesians.

Speaking at Lusaka, Mr. Van Eeden said that he envisaged the rearrangement of the Federation into an autonomous European state and African protectorates. Ultimately some form of self-government within the British Commonwealth would have to be conferred on the African protectorates.

Meanwhile, certain members of the Confederate Party, under Mr. Robert Weekes and Mr. Stanley Gurland, had broken away when the pact was announced and, as the Reconstituted Confederate Party, announced their aim of forming a movement to "weld the Europeans of this continent from Cape Town to Nairobi into one nation under one federated over-all authority within the framework of the Commonwealth . . . and to call for the complete withdrawal of the Colonial Office from the territories concerned on the basis that the destiny of the European on the Southern African continent must rest with the permanent European settlements on this continent." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 28, 1955.)

However, on January 7, 1956 the *Rhodesia Herald* reported that "the Confederate Party and Mr. Van Eeden and his group have abandoned their pact from which it was proposed to form a new Commonwealth Party. Instead the Confederate Party is to combine with the Rhodesia Party to form a new Opposition Party."

Mr. Stockil (leader of the Rhodesia Party) then said that he had recently had discussions with Mr. John Gaunt, leader of the Rhodesian Dominion Party, and other political groups in Northern Rhodesia, and he was hopeful that they would eventually link up with the proposed new party.

But on January 10 Mr. Gaunt said the people of Northern Rhodesia would not accept the new party . . . What was needed, he stated, was a completely new opposition party, not formed from any of the existing political groups and without a prearranged selection of leaders. A broad based and moderate centre party was vitally necessary in the explosive atmosphere of a multi-racial community, otherwise at the first sign of any serious disturbance public opinion was likely to swing in support of the extremists. Mr. R. O. Stockil, leader of the Rhodesia Party, Mr. Jack Keller, the Southern Rhodesia M.P., and himself, could well form the nucleus from which such a new party could spring.

Meanwhile, on January 9, Mr. Van Eeden formed his new Commonwealth Party at a meeting in Salisbury. He was appointed interim leader. The meeting was attended by Southern Rhodesia supporters, and the statement issued said that similar meetings would be held in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and branches established throughout the country.

On January 17, Mr. G. J. Taylor, a farmer, said he will form another new party, the Economic Party.

COLONIAL OFFICE CONTROL OF NORTHERN PROTECTORATES

The Southern Rhodesia newspaper, *The Citizen*, claims that one of the reasons for the recent visit to Britain of Sir Roy

Welensky was to have talks "which could result in the Colonial Office handing over Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to the Commonwealth Relations Office."

The Citizen describes such a move as being the biggest step towards the achievement of Dominion Status. "There were many who said at the time of the referendum that it was absurd not to make native affairs a Federal Matter. Indeed, it almost made mockery of the whole Federal idea. No one knew it better than Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky. Now they are trying to put the matter right. The difference between the two establishments is, of course, that the Colonial Office has a very strong influence on policy, whereas the Commonwealth Relations Office is only a liaison institution.

"The Colonial Office puts its officials down in a territory and tells them how to run it. The Commonwealth Relations Office simply keeps the Empire members in touch with one another. It does not dictate their policy." (*Central African Post*, October 3, 1955.)

Sir Saville Garner, Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, on a visit to Rhodesia, said in Lusaka that the possibility of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland passing from the control of the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office was remote. The British Government welcomed the Federation's partnership policy, but he hesitated to define partnership. "If Lord Malvern cannot achieve clarification, you must not expect it from me." (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 11, 1955.)

RACE RELATIONS AND PARTNERSHIP

In two articles in the *Rhodesia Herald* (December 28 and 29, 1955) Sir Ernest Guest, for many years a member of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament and from 1938 until his retirement in 1948, a Cabinet Minister, said that race relations had improved out of all recognition. "Nothing could be further from the truth" than "that a new technique has been discovered in Rhodesia in the field of race relations, called 'Partnership', which will solve all problems" . . . "The Native Policy of Southern Rhodesia has remained unchanged . . . Partnership, whatever it may mean, is not, repeat not, the policy of the Southern Rhodesian Government . . . Within this colony, partnership is as embarrassing as apartheid is in the Union of South Africa and it may equally well result in dividing the colony politically . . . Partial segregation was and is as acceptable to the African as it is to the European . . ." He said that in addition to the Land Apportionment Act, the Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act and the Industrial Conciliation Act, there were "not less than fifty-nine Acts which differentiate between the European and African in various phases of their daily lives."

In the correspondence that followed, an African, a former schoolmaster, pointed out that a lack of open conflict did not prove that Southern Rhodesian Africans were contented. "It would appear now from Sir Ernest's views that the whole scheme of Federation was, in fact, a piece of political chicanery in that, with tongue in cheek, it paid lip-service to something called partnership which it had no intention ever to give practical expression to." (January 6, 1956.)

Mr. J. H. Humphries of Salisbury drew attention to the danger of an attitude of complacency and self-satisfaction and

of out-dated policies. Equality of opportunity for Africans was a reasonable demand. "The fact is that the average European is utterly ignorant of African attitudes and aspirations." (January 9, 1956.)

In the same issue Sir Roy Welensky in a speech reported from Lusaka said that partnership was the only alternative to African domination on the one hand and European domination on the other. "We have adopted the policy of partnership and we intend to stick to it."

Speaking at Gwelo, Dr. Walter Adams, Principal of the new University College, said that most of the problems in the Federation were intellectual, not practical, economic or even moral. "We have got the Native problem and, if we are thinking wrongly on that one point, then the Federation itself is endangered." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 10, 1955.) At a Rotary Club in Salisbury he said that the university could be one of a number of small growing points where the principle of partnership between races could succeed. He had been advised by many people that the inter-racial character of the university should not be talked about too much. "I think it is good advice, for in one sense this feature is completely unimportant. We are a genuine university and, therefore, of course, we are inter-racial." (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 6, 1956.)

Representatives of India and Pakistan were separated from European consular officials when the freedom of the City of Salisbury, Rhodesia, was conferred upon Lord Salisbury.

The European officials sat in the main body of the hall, but Mr. Nirmal Singh, Assistant Commissioner for India in the Central African Federation, and Squadron Leader Akram, the Pakistan Trade Commissioner, were directed to the gallery.

No Africans were present at the ceremony. It is understood that a protest will be made to the Government.

Salisbury was founded by Lord Salisbury's grandfather, who was then the British Prime Minister. Lord Salisbury, who is leader of the Conservatives in the House of Lords, said that the people of Rhodesia might well evolve a partnership of races which would serve as a pattern for the whole of Africa. (*News Chronicle*, January 26, 1956.)

FRANCHISE AND CITIZENSHIP

The Central Africa Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (January 2, 1956) drew attention to the complex position of citizenship in Central Africa: "The African who is a native of Southern Rhodesia is a citizen of that self-governing colony, but the African in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland remains a British protected person though he can become a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies if he complies with a minimum educational requirement and pays a fee. The franchise position remains as it was in each individual territory before the Federal State was established . . ."

A new franchise law is expected in July or August and it is probable that an attempt will be made to establish a common citizenship for the Federation. British and South African citizens might then have to choose whether to retain their citizenship or to take Rhodesian citizenship which would be a condition of eligibility for the franchise. This would reduce the danger of having the voters' roll swamped by the current influx of South African citizens.

"On the question of common African citizenship however there is a wide and probably irreconcilable diversity of views . . . It is widely believed that the British Government

had indicated that it would not countenance any attempt by the Federal Government to change the citizenship status of Africans who are now British-protected persons. If the British Government maintains this attitude, the Federal Government will have to decide whether to proceed with a citizenship bill which makes no reference to Africans at all; or whether to test the strength of the British Government's feeling on the matter . . . There has been a growing feeling in Rhodesia in recent years that the franchise qualifications as they are now enacted are out of date and property and salary qualifications are too low and would—if every African who was qualified took the necessary steps to obtain the vote—mean the swamping of European voters by African numbers."

Nyasaland

AFRICAN OPINION OF THE FEDERATION

MR. W. M. CHIRWA, African Federal M.P. from Nyasaland, at a press conference in London (January 4, 1956) said: "The Central African Federation was imposed despite the solid opposition of the African people and caused a tremendous loss of faith in the British Government. Today the Africans of Nyasaland are even more firmly opposed and in fact desire to contract out of the Federation."

"In the United Kingdom people have been given the impression that everything is going well in the Federation, but this is far from the case."

"When the Federation was imposed, the British Government undertook that the Federation would foster partnership and co-operation between the various inhabitants. But far from doing this, and thus trying to regain lost African confidence, the Federal Government has ignored many opportunities for co-operation with the Africans, and has continued to pursue the discriminatory racial policy of Southern Rhodesia."

"For example—the Federal Government has rejected motions which sought to end the policy of racial discrimination on the Rhodesia Railways, and in Southern Rhodesian Post Offices, and which sought equal opportunities for all races in the Civil Service, as they have in East African territories. It refused to accept Sir John Moffat's motion seeking investigation into the principle of a multi-racial community. It refused to employ Africans as shunters and conductors on the Rhodesia Railways, although for many years Africans have performed all tasks, including engine driving, on the Nyasaland Railways. Instead, the Government is recruiting white immigrants from Britain and the Continent for these jobs. And the Federal Government has passed a law like the Cadet Corps Act which has the effect of discriminating against Africans."

"This latter Act shows how ineffectual the African Affairs Board has been. The Board was supposed to safeguard the interests of Africans and under the Constitution, the Board can draw attention to Bills "by which Africans are subjected or made liable to any conditions, restrictions or disabilities, disadvantageous to them to which Europeans are not also subjected or made liable, or a Bill or instrument which will in its practical application have such an effect."

"The Federal Prime Minister, Lord Malvern, stated quite blatantly in the Federal Parliament that the policy of partnership had been forced on him. He said: "Let us for the sake of Federation which was for economic advancement, not for the

preamble which was forced upon us, have patience." In the same debate, when Africans were calling for the removal of colour bar in the post offices, Lord Malvern said: "You cannot expect the European to form up in a queue with dirty people, possibly an old umfazi with an infant on her back, mewling and puking and making a mess of everything . . ."

"People in Britain should also understand that we Africans in Central Africa, whether we are chiefs, Members of Parliament, doctors, lawyers, teachers, or any other person, when we visit Southern Rhodesia, and the capital of the Federation, Salisbury, we have to put up with constant frustrations and insults. For instance, African M.P.s have to travel about six miles for our meals while our European colleagues have their meals in any restaurant near the Federal Assembly. We have to carry passes, even if it is a pass exempting us from carrying a pass. We have to use separate buses which are not allowed to drive into the centre of the town. On the Rhodesia Railways, even if we have first class tickets, we cannot use the dining cars, nor the first and second class waiting-rooms, which are for Europeans only. We have to use third or more often fourth class waiting-rooms. In the Post Office there, we have to use separate entrances and counters. Even if there is a long queue at the African counter, and no one at the European counter as is frequently the case, we cannot go into that section.

"I know that I may be accused of overlooking the positive things which it is said the Federation has achieved. What are these things? The two most frequently quoted are the establishment of the inter-racial university and the beginning of the breakdown of the colour bar on the Copper Belt.

"With regard to the University, although the British taxpayers gave £1½ million on the understanding that it would be multi-racial, it is planned that African students will live in separate hostels, and have their meals in separate dining-halls. Furthermore, the Southern Rhodesian Government, under the Land Apportionment Amendment Act, has the right of veto on the entrance of any African students if they wish.

"As far as the Copper Belt is concerned, the advances made there are almost entirely due to the Rhodesian Selection Trust, and particularly to Mr. R. L. Prain. No credit at all is due to the Federal Government. In fact, while discussions about African advancement on the Copper Belt were going on in Northern Rhodesia, the Federal Government was refusing to consider giving equal opportunity to all races in the Civil Service.

"It is claimed that Nyasaland will benefit from the Shire Valley Development Scheme. Africans would prefer this scheme to be carried out through Colonial Development and Welfare Funds and that they should be associated with it in all its stages. They had always been led to believe that it was intended to ease the acute land shortage for Africans in Nyasaland, but when the scheme was discussed in the Federal Parliament, a Southern Rhodesian member at once raised the question of white settlement in the Valley. This naturally causes Africans to have deep misgivings about the scheme. Africans in Nyasaland do not want European immigrants unless they have special skills to train Africans, and have not come to settle. It is an indisputable fact that the more the European immigrants, the less chance the Africans have of being trained for, and doing, more skilled jobs in the Federation, and the greater the friction and conflict between the

racess. Under the Federation, there is no longer an African member of the Immigration Board, as there formerly was for Nyasaland.

"I must emphasize that the people of Nyasaland regard themselves as still enjoying the status of a British Protectorate. Under the Federal Constitution this status was guaranteed and carried with it certain rights and safeguards concerning land and political advancement—as specified in the preamble to the Federal Constitution, and in Section 33. Africans will not tolerate a change in this status. They cannot be tempted to accept a form of citizenship of the Federation which will in effect undermine their status as a Protectorate of Britain. Nor is there any reason why granting the franchise should depend on changing their status. In Nigeria, for example, Africans who are Protected Persons have the right to vote.

"In Nyasaland, we Africans have been very dissatisfied with the constitutional changes. We had been led to expect that the two Northern Protectorates would be given reasonable African representation in their Legislative and Executive Councils. But the British Government refused to grant us parity representation with Europeans and Asians on these Councils. Further, by granting the franchise only to Europeans, Asians and Coloureds (mainly immigrants and numbering about 14,000) and refusing it to the Africans (the indigenous inhabitants numbering 2½ million), the British Government has caused deep resentment, and made good race relations extremely difficult. Africans feel that they are being treated as second class citizens in their own country. We cannot but feel that Britain is influenced by the Federal Government.

"As Nyasaland, like Uganda, is a Black man's country, our demands now are that the Protectorate should be declared an African state, and should be allowed to develop on lines similar to Uganda towards democratic self-government within the Commonwealth. Africans should be appointed as Ministers, and there should be an African majority on the Executive and Legislative Councils. Africans should have full, universal, adult suffrage. There need be no fear of the position of European and Asian minority groups whose rights would be protected under the constitution. Africans are anxious to live in peace and harmony with members of other communities and do not want to oust them from Nyasaland, but cannot tolerate domination by them."

Among the points that Mr. Chirwa subsequently amplified, was that concerning representation in the Legislative Council. He said: "Parity is a humble request by 2½ million Africans. Now for goodness sake, how would you feel if foreigners came to your country and enjoyed all these privileges that the Europeans and Asians enjoy in Nyasaland? Look at Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya under the direct control of H.M.G. Uganda is moving towards self-government, there are African Ministers in Kenya, and there is parity of representation in Tanganyika. We in Nyasaland have had protection much longer than Uganda. Tanganyika only got it after the war. Yet we have much less than they. Is it perhaps because of the United Nations that Tanganyika gets more? You can't expect the Africans in Nyasaland to accept less than parity.

"It is very painful to see Indians and Coloured people getting rights and there we are sitting in our own country with no rights at all. What do we want? All people who have written about Nyasaland recently have emphasized that it is a Black man's country, and all the demands being made to make it a

multi-racial country will not succeed. Don't believe that you can force a multi-racial concept on a Black man's country. We do demand indeed that Nyasaland be declared an African state. We want to develop towards democratic self-government—I use the word emphatically. Britain declares Uganda an African state but she is evasive about Nyasaland. We want an answer from Britain on what her intentions are. Is it not time something was done to declare Nyasaland an African state and to win back African confidence that is lost? . . .

"During the middle of the twentieth century, after the events in West Africa, Sudan, and Asia, do you honestly expect the African people in Nyasaland to be subjected and humiliated in a position of inferiority? It will never happen that people in Nyasaland can just sit quiet without directing attention to those events. Unless something is done I am quite convinced that Central Africa will be a boiling point in Africa.

"The British press should direct attention to Central Africa because unless it is adjusted now the future is very gloomy. We don't want to send Europeans out of the country, but they must not remain as rulers. They should remain just as Africans in Britain, Europeans in Asia and the Gold Coast. We say you can stay and you are quite welcome and we want to live in peace and harmony and we are sincere. But not if you dominate us. It is our country and we must rule ourselves.

"I emphasize that people in Nyasaland don't want to break up ties with the British Crown. We want to retain loyalty to the Crown and friendship with the British people. We ask the British Government not to surrender any more powers to the Federal Government. We want to contract out of the Federation. What one can do, another can do, and if they can impose Federation on us, we can get out of it."

COMMENTS ON MR. CHIRWA'S STATEMENT

The *Rhodesia Herald* (January 9, 1956) commented that Mr. Chirwa was a leader of some standing among his own people, and added: "His views on Nyasaland's future within the Federation, however, do nothing to convince the public that his political maturity matches his public status, and that he is not indulging in political cynicism."

The editorial referred to Mr. Chirwa's maiden speech when he spoke of the African people's opposition of Federation but added that "they do realize that Federation is now an accomplished fact." It also quoted two conflicting statements made in 1954 and added. "Mr. Chirwa has two lessons to learn. The first is that it is accepted international practice that men in public positions do not go abroad and decry the country which provides them with a living and the status they enjoy. The second is that it is the height of cynicism for him to continue to occupy a public position, for which he is handsomely rewarded, in a Federation in which he does not believe and from which he wishes to see his country withdraw."

The London journal *South Africa* (January 7, 1956) commented: "There has lately been a succession of glowing reports by responsible visitors to London from the Federation. This week a different note is struck. Mr. W. M. Chirwa one of the two African Federal M.P.s for Nyasaland declares all is not well; that the feelings of Africans in his country are more anti-Federal than they were two years ago; that the colour bar of Southern Rhodesia is really what Partnership amounts to in practice; that Nyasaland should contract out of the Federation. Some of Mr. Chirwa's words are political air-eating; but some

should be heeded. He has 'grievances about discrimination on Rhodesia Railways and in the precincts of the Federal Parliament which should be investigated and set right. Lord Malvern sometimes says unfortunate things (Mr. Chirwa quotes willingly) but he has also said some wise ones: 'Good race relations are never accidental,' for example. Those words would be a constructive motto for all Rhodesians to keep before them in the coming year."

East Africa & Rhodesia (January 12, 1956) commented that Mr. Chirwa "lacks balance, makes wild charges, and, worst of all, rejects the suggestion that acceptance of membership of the Federal Parliament carries with it any obligation to contribute to the success of the Federation."

AFRICAN CONGRESS SUPPORTS MR. CHIRWA'S STATEMENT

The President General of the Nyasaland African Congress, Mr. J. F. Sangala, in a press statement issued on January 15, said that Mr. Chirwa's statement had "revealed nothing new. Congress has repeatedly stated that Nyasaland is a Black-man's country and that it would be declared an African State as is the case of Uganda Protectorate. Further, Congress demands that self-government be granted immediately and that the rights of the non-indigenous inhabitants be protected under the constitution. Congress wants to make it absolutely clear that Nyasaland is a Protectorate, and as such the Africans cannot tolerate any form of a Multi-racial Government. The Africans desire to live in peace and harmony with members of other communities but cannot accept any domination by them.

"Consequently: Congress now demands the immediate appointment of African Ministers with African majority in both Executive and Legislative Councils and that full universal adult suffrage be granted to the members of the African community. It is an insult to give the franchise to foreigners while denying such rights to the owners of the country.

"Finally, Congress reiterates the demand of the African people to have Nyasaland extracted out of the Central African Federation immediately."

SIR MALCOLM BARROW SAYS OUTLOOK BRIGHT FOR NYASALAND

Sir Malcolm Barrow, Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry, stated in Blantyre that in the twenty-eight years in which he has lived in Nyasaland the prospects for development and increased prosperity have never been so bright as they now are. He continued: "In addition to the work of the Nyasaland Government, the Federal Government is building schools and hospitals in different parts of the country; commerce is building houses and shops; a new cinema which would cost £40,000 is under consideration; and buildings in course of construction will involve an expenditure of more than £3 million. A wave of prospecting is beginning to sweep the country and new minerals may be added to the list of those we already know. Then Nyasaland would move a step nearer to an integrated economy.

"The building of a permanent barrage at Matope cannot be long deferred, and it will not be very long, I am confident, before the creation of hydro-electric power from that source is justified."

In the first six months of this year Nyasaland's exports were valued at £3,870,681, and imports and re-exports at

£9,373,182. Tea accounted for rather more than £2½ million of the exports. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 22, 1955.)

EUROPEAN PLANS FOR NYASALAND

The *Rhodesia Herald* (December 31, 1955) reported that "the first shot has been fired in the campaign for Nyasaland's first free non-African elections in the new year. The Nyasaland Association,¹ which represents the largest number of registered voters, has outlined its proposed platform for elections.

"The association plans 'to protect and foster the interests of Europeans in Nyasaland and to further economic development of the territory as the main plank.' It will also urge that Nyasaland's new constitution should not be revised until at least one year after the Federal constitution is made known; it will work for the complete take-over by the Federal Government of all Federal departments and responsibilities and campaign for the federalization of European agriculture and police; it will press for abrogation of the Congo Basin treaties; seek further freehold land for European settlement; seek 'adequate and economic supply of local produce for local consumption and manufacture'; will seek expansion of fishing industry; reduction of death duties to parity with the lowest in the Federation, and endeavour to have the poll tax made deductible from territorial surcharge."

EUROPEAN AGRICULTURE IN NYASALAND NOT TO BE FEDERAL

The Nyasaland Government has refused a request from the Nyasaland Farmers' Union to establish a working party to consider making European agriculture a Federal subject. But the President of the Nyasaland Farmers' Union has said that the Union will continue to press for the setting up of a working committee.

CRITICISM OF MARKETING BOARDS

In a letter to the Nyasaland Congress newspaper *Kwaca* (December, 1955) Mr. M. W. K. Chiume, who recently returned to Nyasaland from Makerere College, criticized the produce marketing boards and said: "When one looks at the tremendous progress that the Uganda farmer has made through co-operative selling of their produce without the existence of inhibitive marketing boards, one is apt to join the fury of the nation which is now demanding the abolition of these marketing boards, the cause of economic stagnation. We too want to own ginneries and the like co-operatively as our people are doing in Uganda, Gold Coast and Nigeria, to mention only a few countries and we too want to enjoy, by collective selling, the maximum profits from our labour . . ."

ENCOURAGEMENT TO IMPROVE METHODS OF AGRICULTURE

In an editorial the *African Weekly* (November 23, 1955) said: "The most important news from Nyasaland these days is the advice given to Africans of Kota Kota by the President-General of the Nyasaland African National Congress, Mr. J. F. Sangala. As reported by a correspondent in our issue, Mr. Sangala told a Congress Meeting at Kota Kota that any class of people which refuses to accept improved methods of farming is not acting in its own interests. He urged Congressmen, Chiefs and Headmen to encourage improved methods of

¹A European organization.

agriculture and living. In his mind, and, we are certain, in the minds of all forward-looking people, this was the only way Nyasaland could hope to keep pace with social, economic and political developments in other parts of Africa and the world in general. 'People of Nyasaland must not resist the introduction of improved methods of farming,' the President-General declared."

FIRST WOMAN MASTER FARMER

A 50-year-old African woman, Mrs. Berita Makowa, of Blantyre district, was made a second-class Master Farmer recently. Mrs. Makowa thus becomes the first African woman in Nyasaland to receive this official acknowledgement for good agricultural practices.

Northern Rhodesia

AFRICANS DEMAND COMMON FRANCHISE AND CONGRESS OUTLINES PROGRAMME

NEARLY 60,000 Africans on December 18 demanded a common franchise at African National Congress meetings throughout Northern Rhodesia. An appeal was also made that the United Nations should intervene in the eviction of Africans from the area that will be submerged when the £80 million Kariba hydro-electric project dam is built.¹ The meetings were ordered by the Congress chief, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, from London, to protest against an alleged refusal by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, to grant him a hearing on these and other African grievances.

At hundreds of meetings, resolutions were passed urging the British Government to extend the franchise to British-protected persons on the qualifications laid down in the Congress constitution—an income of £50 a year as opposed to the present £240 a year. They also asked for the waiving of the present condition that a voter must be able to read and write English. The Congress only requires the ability to be able to read and write in the mother tongue. On these lowered qualifications nearly all the Territory Africans would get the vote immediately. The eviction of the Africans from the Gwembe area because of the building of the Kariba Dam was described by speakers as a "violation" of the African land-owners. A resolution was passed that Mr. Nkumbula should press for the matter to be placed before the United Nations Organization if Mr. Lennox-Boyd refused to intervene. Mr. Nkumbula was authorized to protest as well against the proposed amendment of the Trade Union Ordinance which was described as "a deliberate attempt to retard African progress."

The meetings also protested against the Public Order Bill² which prohibits the wearing of a uniform for political purposes and which generally aims at the control of public processions. The Northern Rhodesian Government was criticized for failing to implement the Moffat resolutions, especially on partnership. (*Federation Newsletter*, January 5, 1956.)

On his return to Northern Rhodesia Mr. Harry Nkumbula outlined Congress aims for the New Year. The following were among the points: "The African people will accept nothing short of full adult franchise, with no reserved seats or other special safeguards for minority groups."

¹Digest III, 5. ²Digest III, 3.

Congress says it agrees that this can only be achieved gradually, but adds, "each step shall not be so long delayed that the adults of today cannot foresee the ultimate realization of the ideal in their own life-time."

The first two steps should be these: communal voters' rolls with a fixed number of seats for each racial group; a common roll with reservation of a fixed minimum number of seats for minority groups.

The *Central African Post* (December 28, 1955) commented: "There is one major change in these demands from past Congress programmes. This is set out in the programme thus: 'As an African class of wealthy property owners and high salaried workers develops they will find their interests to be closer to those of the European and Asian moneyed classes, while Europeans and Asian working men will see their interests allied to the African workers.'

"'When no race any longer has reason to fear domination by another race the policy of reserved seats for minorities can be ended and the Legislative Council will be a truly democratic expression of the majority of all citizens.'

"So far as the Federal Assembly is concerned, Congress dismisses it thus: 'The African people wish to see the Federation, which was imposed on them in spite of their unanimous opposition, dissolved as soon as possible.'

"But until it is dissolved they want African-European parity in the House with 18 members for each race."

Mr. Nkumbula addressed a mass meeting estimated at well over 10,000 people, during which Mr. S. H. Chileshe (member of the Legislative Council) endorsed his views on the Congress programme.

In a recent *Congress Circular* (November 15, 1955) the Congress quoted headlines from local newspapers over some months which expressed feelings antagonistic to African advancement and to African housing schemes near European suburbs. Congress commented: "Our white friends must be told warningly that we are not anti-white in the slightest sense of the term. We believe and know there is plenty of room in this Protectorate for all those who have founded homes in our country to live together with us in harmony. We know too that if we became anti-white, we would be no better than those who hate us because we happen to be black.

"Such statements as we have quoted above speak for themselves. The majority of the white men in this country are so scared of African advancement in this country that they allow themselves to express their deep-rooted hatred of the African. While there is still time, our friends must begin taking stock of their behaviour, so that the changes which are to take place in our multi-racial society take place without violence. We know that self-government, Federation, Dominion status and the like may give to the white man some form of security and leave the African a subject of all sorts of humiliation. But all this can do no more than delay the progress of the African a little. The inevitable end must come. And as one can only reap what one sows, we urge the European section of this country not to be carried away by reactionary leaders who tell them they are safeguarding their interests—maybe they are doing so—but the question is how long will that protection last? The truth is nationalism is rife amongst the indigenous people who are at present the under-dogs. No amount of pressure from any government in which they have no say, and which therefore they rightly regard as foreign, will stop them from

fighting for their right place in the country. Let every leader worth the name help to make the inevitable change come about—so let the European who claims to know more take the lead now before it is too late!"

AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS CRITICIZE CHAMBER OF MINES' AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT SCHEME

The Supreme Council of the African Mineworkers' Union and the Mines' African Staff Association expressed opposition to the Chamber of Mines' African advancement scheme.¹ They object to the high educational qualifications required for the new jobs, and also consider the pay to be too low.

For twenty-four of the seventy-five new jobs, a Standard VIII education is required, and Standard VI for a further nineteen. The highest wage for one of these new jobs is a total of £96 a month, compared with an average of £130 a month for a European doing the same job.

Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the union, said it was "ludicrous" to expect a Native who had more than twenty years' service with the copper mines and who had all the practical experience to agree that he should be barred from advancement merely because he did not have the academic qualifications.

Mr. Katilungu said neither the union nor the association objected to high qualifications in principle provided that Natives at present capable of doing "advanced" jobs were not barred. (*Sunday Mail*, January 8, 1956).

Mr. R. L. Prain, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, when in London, corrected Press reports that the African Mineworkers' Union in N. Rhodesia had rejected the plan for advancement. All the union had done was to ask for reconsideration of the rates of pay proposed for the initial jobs. Negotiations were taking their normal course through the Chamber of Mines. (*East Africa & Rhodesia*, January 19, 1956.)

EUROPEAN COMMENT ON AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT

The policy of the Government in introducing trade unionism to Africans, in giving them representation in the Territorial and Federal Legislatures, and in establishing a form of trade testing, was responsible for the attitude of Africans in expecting easy advancement in the mining industry. This was stated in a special article in *Mossa*, the official journal of the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association. The article referred to African objections to the advancement scheme and said these had been greeted with "some amusement" and not a few expressions of "I told you so."

"The absurdity of expecting him to swallow, in one gulp, a trade union system which has taken decades of endeavour and trial among more mature races has been commented upon many times," says *Mossa*.

"Now, at last, the Northern Rhodesia Government is contemplating the introduction of legislation to prevent the whole trade union movement in the territory coming into disrepute. It is somewhat surprising to find European unions objecting to legislation which will prevent them doing things they would never think of doing. Still more surprising that the Colonial Office, which has been the cause of so many of our troubles and problems, should be invited to intervene."

¹DIGEST, III, 6.

Mr. B. J. Petersen, General Secretary of the European Mineworkers' Union, said that European employee organizations in Northern Rhodesia would urge the Government to adopt a more realistic policy on labour problems. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 21, 1955.)

APPRENTICESHIP FOR AFRICANS

The African Trade Union Congress has asked the Government to amend the Apprenticeship Ordinance so that suitably qualified Africans will be allowed to take up trade apprenticeships. At present Africans are prohibited from becoming apprentices even if they can qualify under the Ordinance. Mr. C. E. Cousins, the Labour Commissioner, said consideration was being given to an amendment of the Ordinance. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 23, 1955.)

LAND QUESTIONS

With effect from January 1, 1956, non-African agriculture in Northern Rhodesia became a Federal responsibility. The importance of this transfer was stressed by spokesmen of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture . . . The Federal Ministry will assume responsibility for the following items in agriculture: all conservation and extension services, which will include animal husbandry, tobacco, crop and pasture advisory services, dairy and poultry farming, horticulture and bee-keeping. Forestry and irrigation remain the responsibility of the Northern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture, but the production side of irrigation comes under the Federal Ministry.

At the end of September, Mr. John Roberts, Member for Lands in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, told a *Central African Post* reporter that farmers were jubilant over the Government's decision to grant freehold title to agricultural land. "This meets their desire for an undated security of tenure," he said, "and yet at the same time meets Government's wish that the land should be put to its best use. I believe land alienation and sales will be more active than they have been for a good while now that the Government has accepted a clear-cut agricultural land policy and would-be settlers will be really encouraged."

Ten days earlier another Member of the Legislative Council, Mr. Frank Derby, told a meeting that he deprecated the sale or handing over of freehold land for African habitation. "I contend there is plenty of land available as African reserve or trust land in the immediate vicinity of our towns to provide for the development of proper townships—not compounds or locations—to which fast bus or train services could easily be run," he said.

"Only a fool can concede the cure for African township expansion in the European-held areas is excising on a *quid pro quo* basis from native reserve or trust land. This eventually would so constrict the European areas as to make them almost uninhabitable. With ardent arrogance Mr. John Gaunt lays claim to the fact he stood alone and was proud that he was endeavouring to hand over land on a *quid pro quo* basis from our six per cent. Let us take his plan to its logical conclusion on the assumption it will work," said Mr. Derby.

"What part of European territory will Mr. Gaunt return to the African for the land required for the Kafue Flats irrigation scheme, the Kariba hydro-electric project, the area to be excised in the Serenje area when pyrochlore is proved and for the manganese deposits around Balovale and Fort Rose-

berry? One can imagine also if the Zambesi Valley coal deposits are proved, the necessity a rising for acquiring more European land. I have not got the exact figures of what land has been acquired quietly in the last three years from the African areas, but it must be considerable—and Mr. Roberts has told us so in Legislative Council." (*Central African Post*, September 21, 1955.)

EUROPEANS WANT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The Northern Rhodesia Divisional Executive of the Federal Party agreed in Lusaka that the present constitutional procedure in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council is unsatisfactory and against the interests of the Federal Party. It was decided to set up a five man committee to consider the position and report back to the next meeting, which must be held within six months. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 9, 1956.)

NORTHERN RHODESIA CHAMBER OF MINES EXCLUDES AFRICAN EDITORS

Commenting on the fact that only European editors had been invited to visit copper mines in Northern Rhodesia, an African journalist said that the attitude of the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines in ignoring the fact that there are African editors and an African press in the Federation was a clear indication that their conception of racial progress was not based on the practical issues facing the Federation.

In Southern Rhodesia an African journalist accompanied the European journalists on the Royal Tour, and every invitation extended to journalists by the Federal Government made no distinction on the grounds of race, and always included the African press. It would appear that the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines is not facing up to the changes which are taking place all around them, he said. (*African Weekly*, September 28, 1955.)

LUSAKA SOLICITOR JAILED FOR THEFT BY AGENT FROM AFRICAN CONGRESS

Robert John Maltman, a 26-year-old Lusaka lawyer, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour when he pleaded guilty to four counts of theft by agent from the African National Congress. The four counts involved £1,092 15s. of Congress money.

In a two-minute judgement Mr. I. M. Evans, the magistrate, said the case was plainly quite the most unpleasant duty he had had to perform since he had been on the bench—that of convicting a member of his own profession.

Mr. Maltman had been retained by the Congress in respect of a land dispute. (*Central African Post*, December 28, 1955.)

NUMBERS OF PUPILS IN SCHOOLS

The total increase in European pupils at all schools in Northern Rhodesia during last year was 1,408, making a total of 10,744, says the annual report for Northern Rhodesia. There was also an increase of 179 Indian and Coloured pupils at schools in the territory. More than 177,000 African pupils attended Government and assisted schools and training institutions during 1954—an addition of more than 23,000 over the figure for 1953. The total amount available for recurrent expenditure for the period July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1955, was £1,162,723, which was £418,283 more than in 1953. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 19, 1955.)

ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS FOR AFRICANS

Only three Africans have applied for appointments as cadets in the Administrative Service of Northern Rhodesia and none of them reached the required standard of academic education. This fact was revealed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, in the House of Commons in a written reply to a question from Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the three unsuccessful applicants for the Administrative Service were now employed on administrative duties in other Departments. In addition there are ten Africans working as Administrative Assistants in the Districts and one in the Secretariat and a small number are doing work of an administrative nature in the Departments of Education, Agriculture and Information.

The Northern Rhodesian Government was now proposing to create certain new grades of post requiring higher qualifications than those of the African Civil Service, said the Secretary of State. "Africans in these posts will be able to acquire experience which, if they have the necessary qualities of character, may make them eligible for further promotion in due course," he added.

On the educational side, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said the Northern Rhodesian Government provided bursaries for Africans to receive higher education abroad. There were thirty-six of these at present. It was also concerned to ensure that the greatest possible number of Africans from Northern Rhodesia would gain admission to the newly established University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There are also special courses for Africans in government service. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, December 7, 1955.)

R.L. PRAIN ADDRESSES SHAREHOLDERS

Mr. R. L. Prain, Chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, addressed an informal meeting of U.K. shareholders in London. He mentioned that about 61 per cent of the issued share capital of the Trust is held in the United States, and 41 per cent of the capital of Roan Antelope. In the course of the address, Mr. Prain said: "Management in Central Africa is faced with duties and responsibilities far beyond those which normally face the management of a mining enterprise. For these reasons we decided to locate our head offices in Salisbury, the capital of the Federation. There we are at the focal point of this great enterprise of building a new country, and in my view we shall be concerned for as far ahead as one can see not only in the development of a mining industry but in the political, industrial, economic and social development of a multi-racial community. . ."

Southern Rhodesia

CONTINUED EUROPEAN OPPOSITION TO AFRICAN HOUSING¹

The *African Weekly* (October 26, 1955) reported that the Minister of Housing (Mr. G. Ellman-Brown) had created a difficult precedent in giving way to the objections of the

¹Digest, III, 6.

Waterfalls Town Management Board by his agreement to the creation of a 500-yard belt between the European area and the African township of Highfield. " . . . In a rapidly developing town like Salisbury with 74,249 Africans in employment and 40,510 Europeans (1951 census), the Africans were left with only two residential areas near town—Harare and Highfield which we thought would be allowed to grow unfettered. Mabvuku is excluded here as it is ten miles out of town."

The report of the Director of Native Administration in Salisbury (year ending June 30, 1955)¹ stated that Mr. Harry Reedman M.P. suggested to the City Council that plans be made for the evacuation of Harare Township and that the land thus freed be sold to industry. With the funds from this sale the African population of Harare should be re-housed in Mabvuku Township and at Crowborough Farm. The costs of their daily transport to and from Salisbury should be subsidized with money derived from the same source.

Subsequently, the *African Weekly* (November 16, 1955) reported a joint statement from the Chairman and Secretary of the United Rhodesia Party (Braeside West branch) Messrs. J. Bassoyo-Moyo and R. F. Mangwirow, deploring the scheme and comparing it with the removal of the residents of Sophiatown to Meadowlands in South Africa.

The *African Weekly* commented: "On the African side the proposal has been received with mixed feelings. On the one hand, they appreciate Mr. Reedman's attempt to set up modern African townships under freehold title . . . The establishment of well-planned townships, with good houses where they can raise their families under decent living conditions, would raise the moral level of their community to a degree which is not possible under the present circumstances. On the other hand, they feel that while other townships for the better-class Africans should be developed in the peri-urban areas, three-quarters of the present population of Harare would not be happy to be placed in townships far from their places of work . . . The more difficulty there is in an African worker getting to his place of employment, the greater are the chances of absenteeism and lack of punctuality. . . There are different classes of Africans. In the past, the City Council has had a tendency of treating all Africans as one and providing the same type of Housing." (November 16, 1955.)

AFRICAN WAGES²

At a hearing of the Native Labour Board in Salisbury inquiring into the conditions of African workers in the furniture industry, the Chairman advised African representatives not to make fantastic claims, such as that for £6. 15s. a week claimed by Bulawayo African representatives. A claim for £5 a week as a minimum wage for beginners was dismissed as unreasonable. (*African Weekly*, November 2, 1955.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (December 29, 1955) reported that the National Industrial Council, consisting of representatives of the Master Builders' Association, the Amalgamated Building Trade Union and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, had considered complaints that Africans were being used for skilled jobs. "Examples were quoted of Africans doing carpentry for 30s. or £2 for a 42-hour week, replacing Europeans who are paid a minimum of 7s. 3½d. an hour for the

¹Ibid.

²Digest, III, 5.

same work. The Council decided to petition the Governor of Southern Rhodesia . . . to take action under Section 60 of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1945. This permits the Governor to declare that wage rates in the agreement for the industry concerned shall apply to Natives after he has called evidence to satisfy himself that 'there is danger of any object of the agreement being defeated'."

AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT "A MENACE"

Mr. Jack Keller, M.P., the doyen trade union leader, told a Bulawayo meeting that he saw "the sinister hand of the copper barons" behind moves for African advancement in Southern Rhodesia. "Native advancement is a real menace to every European in this country." Referring to the loan of £2 million for Native housing from the Rhodesian Selection Trust and the investment of £5 million in rolling stock by the Anglo-American Corporation, he said: "The Government cannot afford to refuse the offers of these copper corporations. They will introduce Native advancement on the railways here." (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 18, 1955.)

RESETTLEMENT OF AFRICANS

The Native Affairs Department announced that about 7,500 Africans who had formerly occupied Crown land in Southern Rhodesia have been resettled during 1955 in accordance with the Land Apportionment Act. About 850 families, numbering more than 4,000 people, were moved lock, stock and barrel by road or rail to new homes. The original resettlement programme for the year involved the movement of 3,700 families but some of the Crown land was turned into special Native areas thus making it unnecessary to remove about 2,200 of those originally to be resettled. (*Federation Newsletter*, December 17, 1955.)

AFRICAN POPULATION INCREASE

A survey of population undertaken by the Central African Statistical Office shows that the rate of natural increase of the Bantu population of Southern Rhodesia is 2.8 per cent per year. This rate, one of the highest in the world, is expected to increase because of the growing effectiveness of the health services. It means that the Bantu population will double in twenty-five years. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 9, 1956.)

SCHOOL FEES NOT TO BE INTRODUCED FOR AFRICANS¹

On December 6, Mr. P. B. Fletcher, Minister of Native Affairs, announced that the Government had decided not to enforce its decision to charge Africans tuition fees of 10s. a term. Free schooling would continue in Government urban primary schools. (Schools in rural areas are not affected as they are run by churches or local organizations.) "The rising cost of post-primary education (above Standard 6) has necessitated the introduction of tuition fees from January 1956 at . . . Mzingwane and Domboshawa both of which cater for industrial and technical training and at Goromonzi which is a secondary school." (*Federation Newsletter*, December 17, 1955.)

¹DIGEST, III, 4.

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRICA DIGEST BANNED

The South African Government has banned all issues of the *Africa Digest*, from Volume II, Number 3 of June 1954, under Government Notice 2153 of October 19, 1955.

The DIGEST is read by leaders of opinion of all races in most parts of British Africa, and by numerous experts in the African field in Britain and in the United States.

Anyone found in possession of a banned book or dealing in it is liable on conviction to a fine of £1,000 or imprisonment up to five years or both.

THE NEW SENATE¹

Parliament opened on January 13 with the newly constituted Senate of seventy-seven Nationalist and twelve Opposition Senators (increased from the old total of forty-eight members). The speech from the Throne made it clear that the Government intends to attempt again, with its swollen Senate majority, to remove the Coloured voters of the Cape from the common roll (on February 13), to establish the "sovereignty of Parliament" and to limit the competence of the courts to pronounce on the validity of Acts of Parliament. (*Pretoria News*, January 13, 1956.)

The situation was generally deplored in the English language press. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (January 15, 1956) pointed out that the Senate was designed as a small and carefully constituted body of elder statesmen, representing the four provinces equally and the people in proportion to their views. "Now it is a horde of voters, of numerical significance only, whose task is to supply the Government with a false two-to-one majority." The editorial recalled that only a few years ago the Nationalists pledged themselves to protect the voting rights of the Coloured people which they are now determined to destroy. "Today they may pledge themselves to preserve the language rights and tomorrow decide to destroy them also . . . There are no safeguards for anyone."

THE DIVIDED OPPOSITION

Mr. Stanley Uys, political correspondent of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, gave an account of the political groups forming in opposition to the Government. Left of the United Party, under the general heading of Progressives, he placed the Liberal and Labour parties and individuals who resigned from the U.P.² They have embarked on unity talks, which have not yet produced results, but there seems agreement that the multi-racial "common society" is the end aim, dispute being on the pace at which the non-Whites should be permitted to advance towards this common society. The Federal Party, now the Anti-Republican League, might also join this grouping.

The Black Sash¹ and the Covenant¹ movements are "non-political" in that both are open to any South Africans (both, in practice, exclude non-Whites) who oppose the Senate Act and want the Constitution upheld.

Right of the U.P., stand the National Conservative Party and the S.A. Bond, both seeking a regrouping in which Nationalists will participate. The former may well rejoin the U.P.

¹DIGEST, III, 3.

²DIGEST, III, 2.

SOUTH AFRICAN BOND

The S.A. Bond, the new middle-group party, has come into being following the criticism by thirteen professors of Pretoria University of the Senate Act.¹ It claims members from both U.P. and Nationalist Party. Among its aims are: the building of a united nation among the white population; a positive policy of guidance and development of the native races; a guarantee of equal justice for all persons. In Government the Bond would maintain the Commonwealth relationship, unless a two-third vote of the electorate decided otherwise; govern in accordance with the constitution as in operation until May, 1955; uphold the complete independence of the courts; introduce financial encouragement for larger families and state-aided immigration to balance the ratio of European to non-Europeans; accept that the existing political rights of the Native should not be diminished in any way; and undertake the social and economic development of residential areas and settlements for Natives, with freehold ownership of property in those areas where there are natural concentrations of the Native people. (*Sunday Times*, December 18, 1955.)

NATIONALIST STATEMENTS ON DEFENCE AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE EAST

Events in Asia and the arms deals in the Middle East have given rise to discussion on the defence of Africa. Mr. Strijdom said that Soviet arms deals in the Middle East exposed the African continent to the spread of Russian influence. Any war between the West and Communist countries would close the Suez Canal, send shipping round the Cape and so bring South Africa into such a war. "The territories of Southern Africa and countries which have interests here will have to keep in closest touch with each other," he said. (*Modern South Africa*, January, 1956.)

Mr. F. C. Erasmus, Minister of Defence, on his return from the United States and Europe, said the main object of his visit was to discuss the defence of the sub-continent against possible Communist aggression. His Government's proposals to set up an early-warning radar network were sympathetically received. "The Sudan, he said, "borders on Kenya, and we may well ask if the infiltration will stop there. What the Middle East and Africa need is a southern defence tier . . . now the northern tier has been leap-frogged."

A military authority in Pretoria commented that South Africa, with its inflexible colour bar, may well prove the stumbling block to a strong defence alliance. In the interest of self-preservation, the Union Government might have to swallow its apartheid principles and agree to the inclusion of Native troops from other territories in a combined defence force. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 12, 1955.)

The Asian and African question was the theme of the last S.A.B.R.A.² congress. In his opening address, Dr. A. L. Geyer, former High Commissioner for the Union in London, said India had a foothold along the East Coast of Africa and a steady infiltration of Indians was going on. They had an economic stranglehold on Uganda, flourished in Tanganyika, and, were they to disappear from Kenya, where they outnumbered the whites by four to one, "chaos would result in the economic life of the Colony". The impact of a resurgent Asia on Africa would, he said, be felt acutely and in increasing

measure. In Asia, nationalism was an intense dread of renewed Western domination and a fierce antipathy to Western imperialism. A question of vital importance to the world was whether East Asia would succumb to Communism. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January, 1956.)

The emergence of a new Asia and the challenge to White supremacy and White settlements in Africa, was discussed by Dr. J. H. O. du Plessis, M.P., for Stellenbosch, when he addressed the Congress. He said the populations of the Asiatic and Communist blocs and of Africa amounted to some 1,600 million, about twice that of the White or near-White countries of the world. The rebirth of Asia was perhaps the most important single factor in world politics today. "It is clear that the major object of the great powers in the new Asia is to achieve leadership on that continent and . . . to assume power and authority in international affairs . . . The Soviet Union, India and China, supported by many millions of non-Whites . . . will throw down the gauntlet and demand not only full democratic rights everywhere, but world supremacy for the non-White races on the strength of their numerical superiority."

Similar views were expressed to S.A.B.R.A. by Mr. W. van Heerden, Editor of *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus*. He said he agreed with the British Colonial Office opinion that the technical and economic development of Africa during the past fifty years was equivalent to, in some cases, 1,000 years development in Europe. West and East were competing for the favour of the Natives, the West by political concessions and economic and technical assistance, and the East by enthusiastic ideological support. " . . . we find ourselves in one of the most important rôles of this drama . . . more than any other influence from the West destined to decide whether Africa will side with the West or the East." (*Pretoria News*, January, 1956.)

RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN STATES

In his journal (December 4, 1955) Mr. van Heerden says that if the Prime Minister's recent reminders that the rise of non-European states in Africa will have to be accepted along with the fact that they and South Africa will have certain common interests resulting from co-existence in one continent are correct, then South Africans must also accept independent non-European armies with whom a common line of defence may have to be held. "The question arises," he argues, "whether there would be any further sense in denying the right to and withholding the duty from non-European territories, which are busy developing in the Union, of making their contribution to common security—without doing violence to the South African apartheid tradition." He wonders whether future relations in a predominantly black continent should not be based on the cultivation of confidence instead of on lack of confidence. (*Press Digest* December 8, 1955.)

A new Africa Division of the Department of External affairs has been formed, the head of which will also be a roving diplomatic representative to establish contact with the emergent Black states and other territories in Africa. Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs, said: "If South Africa wants to play a leading rôle in the affairs of Africa, it will have to make contact with the non-White states." Mr. Louw is said to be considering the problem of accommodation for

¹DIGEST, III, 1.

²S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs.

prominent non-Whites who visit the Union as delegates to international discussions. (*Sunday Times*, January, 1956.)

APARTHEID AND ECONOMICS

The close of the year brought various reviews of the South African economic position and forecasts of the future. Dr. F. J. du Toit, Chairman of the Natural Resources Development Council, spoke optimistically of the immense potentialities for industrial development, and said that the Union had "obvious resources sufficient to keep the country busy for the next 100 years."

He referred to the schemes for harnessing the water supplies from the Pongola and Orange rivers; the development of a new harbour at Sordwana or Kosi Bay and great afforestation schemes in that area; new gold mining development in the Eastern Transvaal; and vast coal and base mineral resources. He added that the picture was only marred by limitations of labour and capital. (*Times*, December 23, 1955.)

The *Rhodesia Herald's* correspondent in S.A., while endorsing the view that South Africa has an enormous industrial and economic potential, also emphasized the capital and labour shortage. That the net inflow of private capital from abroad up to November was only £2 million as against £49 million in 1954, he attributed partly to more attractive rates abroad, and to the political events—in particular to the creation of the new Senate and all it implies—which he considered also accounted for the dearth of immigrants.

According to an editorial in *The Manufacturer* (the official journal of the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries) manufacturers in the Union are baffled, frustrated and angered by the regulatory methods adopted to enforce Government Native policy. A great number and variety of measures affecting the employment of Natives are being enforced while there is lack of clear definition by the Department of Native Affairs on how they expect these to be applied. "Over all broods the awareness that these measures are but fragments of an as yet incomplete blue print . . ."

Non-Europeans outnumber Europeans by more than two to one in South Africa's manufacturing, constructional and electricity undertakings in 1952-3 according to the census of industrial establishments.

APARTHEID AND THE NATIVE RESERVES

The Ciskeian General Council has followed the Transkeian Bunga in agreeing by a large majority to accept the Bantu Authorities Act, by which the general councils will disappear, being replaced by local self-government through local and regional authorities, based on adaptation of the tribal system. Mr. M. C. de Wet Nel, deputy chairman of the Native Affairs Commission, described proposals for the development of cities within the Bantu areas which would draw off those unable to make a living on the land. The Bantu in these purely Bantu cities would become doctors, lawyers, merchants, tailors, administrators and so on. "Within these cities," said Mr. de Wet Nel, "a million posts will be available to as many eager young Bantu and the farmers will have a ready market for their produce on their doorsteps." (*Pretoria News*, October, 1955.) "There is opportunity for you all to climb the highest rungs of the ladder of success, but this can be done only if you build on the foundations of your own traditions and race," added Mr. Nel. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 19, 1955.)

In a subsequent statement, Mr. de Wet Nel reaffirmed that surveys showed the Bantu areas to be capable, with full diversification and development, of carrying the full Bantu population (with an estimated increase from 9 million to 20 million in fifty years). He envisaged for these areas a political status something a little higher than provincial status, but with no part in the central government.

The *Pretoria News* (December 7, 1955) commented that Mr. de Wet Nel's conception of Reserves which are to carry the Bantu population includes the High Commission Territories, and suggests his forecast rests on two "large and unwarrantable assumptions", first, that the Protectorates will be incorporated in the Union, and, second, that if they are, they will be capable of supporting all South African Natives who cannot now be supported in the Reserves within her borders. From this the paper deduced that the Tomlinson Commission of Inquiry into the socio-economic development of the Reserves (which sat for five years and last year completed its report which is not yet published, and of which Mr. Nel was a member), found the Union's Reserves inadequate to support the Native population. The editorial concluded therefore that the apartheid solution, on which the whole policy of the Government is based, is completely impracticable—unless the British Government agree to transfer the Protectorates.

Professor L. J. du Plessis, a Nationalist, also emphasized that the development of the Bantu under apartheid, "would require the incorporation" of the Protectorates but not directly into the Union. He suggested they be incorporated "into the respective Bantu states of which there might ultimately be seven." There would of course, Prof. du Plessis states, be certain essential conditions: devolution of political responsibility to Bantu would be gradual, states governed by Europeans would supervise development of the Bantu states, and in these states Bantu would be admitted for their economy but without political rights other than for local purposes, and that with the development of the Bantu states to full maturity, they be associated with one another, and more directly interested European states, in a federal system. (*Golden City Post*, October 30, 1955.)

Stanley Uys, in the *Sunday Times* (December, 1955) compiled a summary of some of the probable findings of the inquiry, gleaned from statements of those such as Mr. Nel, assumed to be in the know. Pretoria experts, he claimed mention the cost of apartheid to be estimated at between £500 and £1,000 million. The Bantu area will be 13.7 per cent of the total area of the Union, and this will be increased to 45 per cent of the area of greater South Africa when the Protectorates are acquired. There will be no "Bantustan" but seven tribal blocks. With regard to the labour situation created by the implementation of apartheid, of the total of 4 million employees at present about 5 million are Natives, and to replace these by immigration at the present rate would take 600 years. Mr. Uys believed the government contemplates mobilizing Native savings, estimated at about £30 million to put apartheid on its feet.

In contrast to the buoyant official view of the future, come reports that one of the worst droughts for many years has hit large areas of the Eastern Cape, Transkei and Pondoland. The mealie crop is likely to fail, in which case for the fifth successive year Native food supplies in Pondoland will have to be augmented. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January, 1956.)

APARTHEID AND TRADERS

Mr. M. M. Zimmerman, information officer of the Native Affairs Department, has told the Congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce that the Minister has assured European traders in the Transkeian territories that their existing rights would not be interfered with. Europeans would not be granted further rights of ownership in the Bantu areas in those territories. European traders would not be forced out of trading by depriving them of their rights. Competition by native traders would show whether a European trader could, on economic grounds, afford to remain in a Native area. (*South Africa*, November 12, 1955.)

The Ciskeian Bunga unanimously accepted a resolution calling on the government to eliminate "White spots" in the Native areas by allowing the South African Native Trust to take them over. The resolution was adopted after some of the Native Councillors said that the "White spots" in Native areas were only a problem because of the acute land-hunger being experienced by the Natives. They would be eliminated if more land was made available to the Natives. (*South Africa*, November 12, 1955.)

Natives trading in urban areas anywhere in South Africa without the consent of the Minister have received warning to vacate their premises, under the Native Urban Areas Act. Others will not get their permits renewed. They have been assured of trading licences in any Native area or location, and instructions have been given to enforce the Act in as humanitarian a way as possible. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December, 1955.)

Dr. Ellen Hellmann, President of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations (*Race Relations News*) points out that Africans to a very large extent work in European areas for the whole day and cannot deal with businesses and professional men in the locations. Therefore, the banning of African business from European town centres is by no means equivalent to the banning of European business from Native areas.

APARTHEID CRITICIZED BY D.R.C. LEADER

Professor B. B. Keet, of Stellenbosch Theological Seminary College, and a leader of the Dutch Reformed Church, has issued a booklet in which he condemns apartheid as incompatible with Christian principles.

Announcing this book, *Die Burger*, the Cape Nationalist newspaper, says that its appearance will cause a sensation in political and religious circles. Professor Keet rejects the total apartheid advocated by Sabra and most Afrikaans church leaders as a pipe dream.

All other forms of apartheid, he says "are a flight from our Christian principles which require us to live not only with like-thinking people of a like development, but also, and above all, to include the under-privileged, to bear their burdens, and to help them attain a human dignity."

He calls for a radical change in outlook among South Africans, and for a new beginning, including consultations not only among the political parties but with the representatives of the non-Europeans.

Of total apartheid he says: "Can one be blamed for coming to the conclusions that here is a pipe dream that seeks to solve the problem in the easiest way, because it is an impossibility? The impossible is the easiest because no one needs to worry about it. He just dreams about it."

"There was a time when barbarism and darkness of colour

were synonymous, but that time is irrevocably past. No matter how convinced we may be that our apartheid policy is in the interest of the Coloured races, because it develops their independence, the fact remains that its consequences are always greater alienation and enmity."

Die Burger, on the other hand, considers that total territorial separation as a long-term solution for South Africa's problem of Black and White has made steadily more progress in recent years among Afrikaans church and intellectual leaders. "The danger is that a short-sighted reaction to the direction of separation will produce a government which, in conflict with the deepest wish of the voters, will place the country irrevocably on the road of integration, equality and the decline of the White man."

CONDEMNATION OF MIGRATORY LABOUR SYSTEM

The Christian Council, greatly concerned about the wholesale expulsion of African families from the Western Cape (taking place in accordance with the Government's intention of making that a Coloured area, African labourers to be allowed only as migrants), drew up a memorandum outlining the objections to the migratory system and asking the Government to reconsider its attitude. When a deputation called on the Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd made a lengthy defence of the migratory system claiming that it was, in the impi system, part of the Bantu tribal tradition. The Prime Minister repeated that the Government has to consider many questions, and they are not concerned only with the building up of native areas. It has a duty to the European population also, he said . . . The Government is quite satisfied that the Bantu people must and should develop. There is no desire on the part of the Government to keep them down. But that development must be such as will not endanger the development of other sections of the population . . . It must always be remembered that it is the first duty of the South African Government to preserve white civilization. (*Christian Council Quarterly*, December, 1955.)

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION BILL¹

The amended Industrial Conciliation Bill passed its first reading. Under it, racially mixed trade unions must have separate branches for the different racial groups, the executives being whites only. It provides for the break-up of mixed unions into separate racial unions. No mixed Unions will in future be recognized. The Minister may order that certain classes of work be reserved exclusively for certain races. The Bill forbids affiliation with or financial support of a political party by a trade union, and it imposes certain limits on strike action. (*News Chronicle*, January 19, 1956.)

The White unionists see in the Bill a serious threat to the standards of white workers and believe the full effects would appear with large-scale unemployment and intense competition for available work between the various races, according to Mr. T. C. Rutherford, president of the S.A. Trade Union Council.

BANTU EDUCATION

In the course of an article, "Dr. Verwoerd versus the Churches" (*Daily Telegraph*, December 14, 1955) Mr. Douglas

¹DIGEST, II, 3.

Brown writes, "In practice the Government's policy means that though native children now attend school in two daily shifts, and though the qualifications for teachers have been substantially lowered, there are scarcely any more children being educated today than before the Act came into force. The State organization has broken down under the strain, and in Natal the Anglican Church, which leased its school buildings to the Government on the principle that a bad education was better than none, finds that the new authority cannot even pay the agreed rent." He concludes, "Short of open warfare with the Churches such as Hitler embarked on, the Nationalists cannot indefinitely prevent determined South African Christians from spreading faith and knowledge among the natives."

The Native Affairs Department will refuse registration to any Native school if it is not satisfied that the school is being run for "the welfare of the Natives", said Dr. T. S. van Rooyen, the department's information officer (*Rand Daily Mail*, January, 1956). Since April, 665 Native schools had been registered, most of them small and very necessary in the areas in which they had been set up. Only a few had been refused registration.

Lawrence Matime¹ and Bernard Molewa have both been acquitted in the Native Commissioner's Courts of conducting unregistered schools for Native children in contravention of the Bantu Education Act. (*Sunday Times*, January 1, 1956 and *Rand Daily Mail*, December, 1955.)

A young Native woman was fined £10 at Vanderbijl Park for conducting a school not registered under the Act. She said she prayed with the children and taught them to be good citizens. She taught them to read and write to keep them out of idleness. There were between 200 and 300 pupils. (*Rand Daily Mail*, editorial).

Three thousand of the 6,500 Bantu school children who were banned from school because of participation in a boycott of Bantu community schools² have been readmitted. The other 3,500 will be readmitted as soon as classroom accommodation becomes available during the year. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December, 1955.)

FATHER RAYNES' SERMON

In a sermon preached in St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, Father R. Raynes C.R. once again denied that any pressure, Government, church or big business, had been put upon him to withdraw Father Huddleston from South Africa, or that he himself has in any way disagreed with him. "I personally and the whole Community thank God for giving us such a brother and we thank God that he has so continually and so courageously, yet with persistent patience and charity, witnessed to by his life, his words and actions those fundamental principles which are held and shared by all his brethren. In a remarkable manner he has expounded by word and action the Christian approach to the racial, social and political problems of the world and that in a country where they are most acute . . ." He added that the position of Novice Master in the life of any religious order is one of the utmost importance and he was supported in his opinion that Father Huddleston was the right person by many responsible people whom he had consulted. "There are some who urge that though that is true this is not the time. They may be right—but equally the

Community may be right. In all this strategy and a long-term policy must not be overlooked and to move a leader from one part of the field to another which may appear to be less important is often required. The decision to do so is no easy one and no one is infallible. I must accept the fact that I may be mistaken I can only say that I am seeking to do what I believe to be right and to God I must answer for it."

ANGLICAN CHURCH WANTS VOTES FOR NON-EUROPEANS

The Anglican Synod in Cape Town unanimously passed the following motion: "This synod reiterates the declaration of the synod of 1950 that discrimination between men on grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of Christ's religion and, being persuaded that among the non-Europeans in South Africa are many who are capable of exercising the responsibilities of the franchise, calls for an extension of the franchise accordingly."

This replaced an earlier motion criticized by a Natal delegate as causing more harm than good; recommending "that Parliament enact legislation to allow direct representation in the Legislature of the non-European groups." (*Star*, November 19, 1955.)

IDENTITY CARDS AT MARRIAGES

New Regulations provide for the insertion of identity numbers on birth, death and marriage documents. This has interfered with some marriages, and caused a storm of protest which has led to temporary suspension of the regulation.

AFRICAN CONGRESS ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Only the effort of Africans themselves would bring their liberation, said Professor Z. K. Matthews, deputy president of the African National Congress, delivering the presidential address in the absence of Chief A. J. Lutuli, president-general, whose movements are restricted to the lower Tugela district by the Minister of Justice. The policy of *baasskap* showed no signs of abating, he said. For that reason they disagreed most emphatically with the latest report of the United Nations commission, which claimed to have found a certain measure of gradualism and flexibility in the implementation of the policy of apartheid. "On the contrary, our experience," he said, "is one of an ever accelerating tempo in the relentless pursuit of the declared objectives with complete disregard of the consequences of the policy of separation to its victims." (*The Times*, December 19, 1955).

For the first time in forty-three years the conference did not open on the Day of the Covenant (previously Dingaan's Day) as the Bloemfontein municipality refused to make a hall available. All reporters left the first day's session on the adoption of a motion banning the representative of the *Bantu World* which was regarded as "hostile Press". One delegate opposed the ban. "How can the A.N.C. profess to fight for freedom if it does not want to recognize the freedom of the press? Any newspaper should be allowed to have its say, even if people do not agree with the movement. This is the very meaning of Press freedom," he declared amid loud boos. (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, December 18, 1955.)

Golden City Post carried articles by its own reporter, Matthew Nkoana, and Cyril Dunn of the *Observer* explaining why, though not unfriendly to Congress, they felt bound to

¹Digest, III, 5.

²Digest, III, 3.

join this protest against infringement of freedom of the press.

Congress postponed two controversial resolutions, on the implementation of the 1949 Programme of Action, and adoption of the People's Charter¹, until the next conference. The Conference adopted a resolution re-affirming an earlier decision that children should be withdrawn from Bantu Education Schools. A protest would be organized on a nation-wide scale.

"NO PASSES FOR AFRICAN WOMEN"²

A resolution was unanimously passed by the A.N.C. Women's League that under no circumstances would African women carry passes. If the carrying of passes by women was enforced in any area the African women domestic workers would sit down and strike. Speaking on the motion Mrs. L. Ngoyi, president of the League, said, "The struggle for freedom will continue, deportations and gaol sentences will not stop us. The eyes of the world are upon us and the democratic nations are waiting to liberate us." She said that in the struggle against the common enemy all non-Europeans must form a common front. The Indians could not be excluded as they also had no political rights. (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 19, 1955).

RETURN OF MOSES KOTANE

A large crowd of all races welcomed back Mr. Moses Kotane, a non-European leader, at Jan Smuts airport, from an overseas tour. The building resounded with singing, and banners were carried bearing such legends as, "Long Live African-Asian Unity" and "Welcome to the People's Ambassador." Police were among the crowd. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December, 1955.) Mr. Kotane had visited Britain, India and China, and attended the Bandoeng Conference as an observer.

BETHAL AGAIN

Savage beatings and floggings are going on at some Bethal farms in the Eastern Transvaal, according to *Golden City Post* (December 11, 1955). Within one week recently convictions resulting from assaults on seven labourers were secured in three cases in the Bethal Magistrate's Court. Sentences of up to eight months' imprisonment with compulsory labour and strokes were imposed. For every case that comes before the courts, *Post's* reporter considers about three go unreported, due to the ignorance of the victims as to how to obtain redress.

Mr. V. R. Verster, Director of Prisons said that under the system of supervision and control of farm prisons it was not possible for any prisoner to be ill-treated without the incident being reported to him. *Post's* investigator found the worst culprits among farmers who do not use convicts from farm prisons but who keep convicts and other labourers on their own land. Interviewed by *Post*, Dr. T. S. van Rooyen, chief information officer of the Native Affairs Department, said the prisoners, mostly pass offenders and not habitual criminals, serving up to four months imprisonment, volunteered to work on the farms. The farmers paid a minimum wage of 9d. a day and so good was the treatment that many convicts chose to stay on at the end of the imprisonment.

He outlined the regulations in force and said that as a prisoner chose to work on a farm, he had a right to ask to be taken away and returned to gaol.

Post records that a committee was appointed by the Govern-

¹Digest, III, 2.

²Digest, III, 4.

ment, following disclosures in 1952, to inquire into the matter. As far as is known its report was never published. Earlier, in 1946, the Rev. Michael Scott had investigated conditions at Bethal, and as a result the Diocese of Johannesburg and several English-language newspapers made strong protests against continued ill-treatment of African labourers there.

APARTHEID IN SPORT¹ AND YOUTH HOSTELS

The non-European Soccer Federation has challenged the all-white South African Football Association's right to represent South Africa in international football. A four-man delegation, including an Egyptian member, from the Federation of International Football Associations has arrived in Johannesburg to investigate the situation. "We must win", says the non-European Soccer Federation, "we represent the strongest football body in South Africa. The F.I.F.A. cannot go against its own rules." To this the Association retorts, "We can't lose. Apartheid is the law of the country. We can't go against the law. If the Football Association does not control soccer there won't be any soccer to speak of—no finance, no grounds, no tours." (*Manchester Guardian*, January 18, 1956.)

The Secretary of the South African Tennis Board claims that the board has no colour bar. The board is against the federation of the existing bodies, the Bantu Lawn Tennis Union, the Indian Tennis Union and the Coloured Lawn Tennis Union. "The formation of such a body will weaken our stand on the abolition of colour bar in sport." The only solution to the problem would be for all tennis bodies to join the South African Tennis Board. He said that his board did not recognize David Samaai as the Coloured champion, but as champion of the Board.

South Africa had been denied membership of the International Youth Hostels Federation because of her policy of racial segregation, said Mr. E. St. John Catchpole, founder of the youth hostels in England, in Johannesburg. It was suggested by authorities that South Africa should admit non-Europeans into its youth hostels. (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, January, 1956.)

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AGREES WITH ATTACK ON FR. HUDDLESTON

In reply to questions in the House of Assembly, Mr. E. H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, said he agreed with the sentiments expressed by Mr. H. Biermann, Government Information Officer, in his letter attacking Fr. Trevor Huddleston C.R.²

FORT HARE UNIVERSITY¹

Commenting on the report of the Commission of Inquiry, Professor C. P. Dent, former principal of Fort Hare Native University College said that he was not consulted at all by the commission. He considered it was "very often far wide of the mark" in its report. He said that from its foundation the college had aimed at the development of a true university spirit, in the face of great financial difficulties which had only ended in 1952 with the Government's acceptance of the Holloway Commission recommendations. He thought the commission did not give weight to the fact that education at

¹Digest, III, 4.

²Digest, III, 5.

Fort Hare was probably cheaper than at any other university in the world (£26 a year was paid for dining-hall fees and £10 for the hostel). He thought there was less drinking and no more immorality than in any university group of comparable size. He denied that tale-bearing was encouraged. He thought lack of moral courage the most dangerous failing of the students. He thought the commission spent too short a time at the college. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 7, 1956.)

Mr. Paul Mosaka, a business man and past student of Fort Hare, on the other hand agreed with many of the Commission's findings. He thinks Fort Hare should develop as a purely African university. "What chance do we have in a multi-racial college? The white man will always have an advantage over us because of his cultural, educational and political background. If it remains African, Fort Hare students will be moulded along lines of a virile nationalism by which he can survive as a black man." (*Golden City Post*, November 13, 1955.)

Professor Z. K. Matthews, deputy president of the African National Congress, has been appointed Acting Principal of Fort Hare. He replaces Professor Dent, who resigned.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES S.W.A.'S FUTURE

THE leader of the United National South West African Party, Advocate J. P. Niehaus (one of the only two members of the Party to be elected recently), tabled a motion in the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa requesting "the Administrator to convey to the Union Government: Firstly, its appreciation for removing the uncertainty in regard to the constitutional and international position of the Territory of South West Africa, which has resulted from its representation in the Union Parliament by its recent statement to U.N.O. that the Territory has not been incorporated in the Union.

"And the later statement by its Minister for Economic Affairs that the Union does not intend incorporating S.W. Africa as a fifth province and that the status quo continues.

"Secondly, its conviction that such policy and its future observance both in letter and spirit most clearly accords with the wishes of the inhabitants and with the interests of the Territory and that such policy should only be changed at the express request of the inhabitants of this Territory."

Advocate Niehaus said that a tremendous amount of confusion existed in the minds of the general public about the mandate question and the status of the Territory as a result of the Territory's representation in the Union Parliament.

Mr. A. H. du Plessis, Member of the Executive Committee, moved an amendment which read "that this House respectfully requests the Administrator to convey to the South African Government, its appreciation for removing the uncertainty in regard to the constitutional and international position of the Territory of South West Africa after the unanimous agreement with both political parties in South West in 1948, and further confirmed in the Legislation which followed in 1949.

"Therefore this House confirms it as its frank view and as decided by the electorate, that the political position of South West Africa has been determined as follows:

- (a) The mandate over South West Africa no longer exists.
- (b) S.W.A. has outgrown its mandatory status by sharing the sovereignty of the Union at least on an equal basis.
- (c) The Union and South West Africa have become an entity, that is, one country and one nation.
- (d) The financial arrangement between South West Africa and the Union is such that it holds mutual advantages, however such that the advantages enjoyed by South West from the Union far outweigh those which the Union enjoy from South West Africa.
- (e) The mutual agreements between South West Africa and the Union will as time passes, that is, for as long as the demand exists, be determined by way of mutual consultation between the two countries." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, November 25, 1955.)

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF YOUNG LIBERALS

THIS committee, noting the long-declared purpose of the Union of South Africa to incorporate the British Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, and believing that verbal pledges are not of themselves sufficient to demonstrate our abhorrence of any agreement which would include the peoples of those territories in the racial system of the present South African régime:—

Urges H.M. Government to take the following steps to demonstrate the contrast between the liberalism of British Policy and the repressive acts of the Union Government by making the High Commission Territories models of enlightened political, economic and social advance:—

1. An unequivocal declaration to the effect that no transfer of sovereignty will be contemplated without the consent both of the British Parliament and of the peoples concerned, expressed through the medium of genuinely representative institutions;
2. The early and concurrent establishment of representative local and national councils for the three territories, so that there shall exist the democratic machinery for ascertaining the wishes of their inhabitants;
3. The transfer of all administrative responsibility from the Commonwealth Relations Office to the Colonial Office, and the removal of the Bechuanaland administrative headquarters from Mafeking to a convenient centre in the Protectorate;
4. Removal of the ban on Seretse Khama's return to the Bamangwato Reserve;
5. A review of expenditure already authorized, or contemplated, under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1955, for the purpose of carrying through a Ten Year Programme of economic development aimed at creating employment within the respective High Commission Territories, thereby removing the causes of the present large-scale migration of labour into the Union; and
6. Such conspicuous improvement in Health and Education

Services as shall make it impossible for the exponents of "apartheid" to draw disparaging comparisons between conditions of the African peoples of the Protectorates and Africans domiciled in the Union.

COLONIAL AND COMMONWEALTH MATTERS

CRITICISM OF BRITISH POLICIES

FOLLOWING on the fierce criticisms of Western colonial policies made by Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev during their visit to India and Burma, President Tito, who paid a brief visit to Egypt and Ethiopia, said in a New Year message that what he had seen in Africa had convinced him that the "civilizing mission" so often claimed for the colonial Powers was really the exact opposite.

At the end of November, Mr. Colin Legum, writing in the *Observer*, said that "there are increasing signs that Egypt, not satisfied with attempts to set itself up as the champion of Arab rights in the Middle East and French North Africa, is trying to achieve leadership of the nationalist movements throughout Africa.

"This policy is being pursued in three ways. African students and goodwill missions are being invited to visit Egypt. Egyptian officials are being sent on goodwill missions to African territories to establish contact with African and Muslim leaders. And Radio Cairo is expanding its services to all parts of the African continent . . .

"Radio Cairo's policy was clearly defined when it began its 'Voice of Swahili' broadcasts:—

"'Egypt's geographical situation requires her to work for the liberation of the African continent from all forms of imperialism. This (the Swahili) transmission aims at linking the fighting people of Africa with the Arab peoples who are also fighting for freedom, peace and prosperity.'"

Mr. Legum quoted extracts from a broadcast, part of which travestied Jomo Kenyatta's trial. Kenyatta "is represented as having been denied the right to be defended by his English counsel. 'I know, sir,' says Kenyatta, addressing the Judge, 'that you came to Kenya to fight slavery, and then you subjected the whole of Kenya to enslavement.'

"The Judge answers: 'You are a backward nation. You are primitive. You are beasts. You have blood-thirsty instincts which stop at nothing. The white man suffers because of you. It is only the best that can be allowed to survive.'"

INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE'S SURVEY

In its survey "Government Pressures on the Press" the I.P.I. reports that in the countries which recently gained their independence "the rulers too frequently do not respect the freedom of the individual." They had thought primarily of national freedom. Once this had been acquired and they themselves had reached the top "they tend to abuse their power." The report adds:—

"What is more serious is the emergence of new forms of

Government pressures in countries which are democratic by tradition and which have a long history of freedom and of parliamentary life. Such is the case in the Union of South Africa, and to a lesser degree in Australia and France. These pressures are all the more disastrous because of their insidious nature. They are often the result of an atmosphere of tension, the consequence of an unhealthy political climate which attacks a journalist mainly intellectually; his freedom of expression may suffer just as much as when the pressures are of a more direct kind."

The survey listed among "the heaviest blows" dealt to the freedom of the press since the war the deliberate use of intimidation in South Africa and elsewhere.

PROFESSOR OF RACE RELATIONS LECTURES ON RACE AND COLOUR

In an address to 2,000 senior grammar-school pupils from all over Britain, Professor Kenneth Kirkwood, Professor of Race Relations at Oxford University, said that the "herren-volk" doctrines of the 1930's were a potent cause of war. "We must not forget to what depths of depravity man can fall when he is blinded by insane prejudice . . .

"One of the most potent sources of trouble in the world today springs from the lack of appreciation of the cultural differences between peoples. There is a tendency to equate race with culture and make assertions based on that conclusion."

Referring to South Africa, Prof. Kirkwood said he sympathized with the attitude of the United Nations Trusteeship Committee. "I am not impressed by the formal legal argument for non-interference in South African Affairs." Moral pressure on the South African Government through United Nations and Commonwealth agencies should be maintained. "Such pressure and criticism is having its effect in South Africa, even though there may be outbursts against interference."

Lord Hemingford, Chairman of the Africa Bureau, who presided, said: "Fear can only be driven out by a stronger emotion. Tolerance is not enough. We need a passionate striving for friendship between races." (*Daily Telegraph*, December 29, 1955.)

AMERICA & AFRICA

CONGRESSWOMAN VISITS FEDERATION

MRS. FRANCIS P. BOLTON, a Republican Member of the United States Congress, who has paid a short visit to the Federation, said that Americans, even business men, did not know enough about the Federation. "They do not know it exists—except for the Copperbelt," she said. Mrs. Bolton who had had fifteen years in the United States Congress, has been a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives for fourteen years, and is a member of the sub-committee on Foreign Affairs for Africa and the Near East. She referred to the lack of accurate information on the Federation in America. The Federation should have a representative of Ministerial rank, "a man or woman of substance that could really do a job for the Federation. Africa is a most important Continent for the future of the world. We are anxious to get more information—accurate information."

Mrs. Bolton went on to say there were plenty of good things in the Federation to dramatize. "For instance, your hospital

here (Harari African Hospital) is one of the most magnificent things I have seen." She quoted the description of Africa as a "continent God held in reserve. What you are doing here is very far-reaching. The influence of this place on the world has no bounds."

Mrs. Bolton said that in the ultimate development of Africa as a whole she did not see separation of the White and Black races. The African race would be wise to take every opportunity to absorb knowledge. The coming together of the races would not take place overnight, she said. It would take a long time. Mrs. Bolton said there was plenty of money available in the United States for investment. But, she said, business men might need an incentive to invest in the Federation, so they should be told about the country's stability. Confidence in the Federation should be built up in the United States. The British were wise to create situations which gave the African opportunities to help themselves. But she said she had noticed that in some African dependencies the evolutionary process was taking place rather faster than had been anticipated. "Already the African is finding the task of government more difficult than he expected," she said. Mrs. Bolton said the trip to the African continent was the first that a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee had undertaken. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 26, 1955.)

On her return to Washington, Mrs. Bolton told a press conference that the United States approach to Africa has been "intolerable". She told reporters that she found Soviet infiltration "everywhere" in Africa.

"The Communists are very smart in their dealings in Africa and we are not," she said.

Mrs. Bolton said Americans spent too much time denouncing Communists in Africa while Soviet satellites were selling goods to the Africans at prices they could afford.

She said she intended to consult American business men and her congressional colleagues in the hope of finding some method possibly including Government subsidies, to meet Communist "slave labour" competition.

"The United States must not let Africa go as we let China go," she said.

Mrs. Bolton said the United States should grant funds for the construction of the giant Aswan Dam across the Nile in Egypt "without arguing about conditions. If we do not do it the Russians will," she said. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 6, 1956.)

AMERICAN CONSUL ON PARTNERSHIP

The American Government had hailed the Federation's partnership policy as a great act of statesmanship, Mr. L. V. Steere, American Consul-General in Central Africa, said in Umtali, adding: "We would deplore it deeply if this great design should be damaged or undermined by the development of intolerance, impatience, internal differences, or fear—the greatest dangers in the early stages of this country's existence . . ."

Development was linked with African advancement, he thought. It was no longer practical for a small minority population to maintain indefinitely predominance over a large majority of another race; but he believed that it would be several decades or generations before the African people were sufficiently advanced to play a rôle of full partnership in the Federation.

"Looking to the future, an outsider cannot help but be im-

pressed with the importance for the Federation of maintaining the attitude of co-operation and goodwill which prevails in Southern Rhodesia," he said.

Mr. Steere wondered if there was not a real danger of African leaders and other advanced Africans becoming frustrated and hostile if they were not given some tangible recognition as advanced and civilized people which they could enjoy in their own life-time. "This is one of your most serious problems, and one about which time does not permit you to be negligent. I know your leaders are well aware of this problem and are concerned about it," he continued.

"But I must confess I have not found many Europeans in Rhodesia who appear to be giving much serious thought as to how, as a practical matter, to assure the continued co-operation of responsible Rhodesian African leaders in the times and trials that lie ahead." That goodwill would be needed if what had recently happened in the Middle East had any implication for Southern Africa. "And who can deny the possibility?" asked Mr. Steere. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December, 22, 1955.)

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT PREACHES IN NEW YORK CATHEDRAL

In the course of a sermon in the cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, on November 13, the Rev. Michael Scott said: "There have been times when the Christian religion has lost its genius and become the sanction for complacency, or for the security of one race or nation. When this has happened, the inspiration has gone out of it for the poor, needy and oppressed peoples of the earth. A good thing, when it is corrupted, can become worse than the most evil thing, and we have both these warnings before us in our own time and age. We are still standing too close to some of the great events that have happened in our time to be able to measure their full significance. We have not yet fully comprehended the height and depth of the crisis of western civilization which is happening in our age . . ."

"To this day we have not appreciated the full significance of what happened in Europe. The hideous truth that the great and cultured European nation, with long centuries of Christian tradition behind it, was driven mad by the propaganda of a false idea, and that it cold-bloodedly tortured and destroyed in the gas oven, deliberately—day by day, week by week—in all some 9 million human beings; we have not faced the full depths and magnitude of this crisis in our religion and culture.

"Similarly, we have not faced all the implications of the rise of a neo-paganism—the fact that many millions of the youth of many nations have been captivated by the arid creed of Communism, claiming to set them free, yet binding upon them burdens too grievous to be borne. Nor have we understood, from the complacent vantage point of our own security, in Britain and America—in Britain, where we have a welfare state, and America, where prosperity is beyond comparison with anything in Africa or Asia—the compelling, almost frenzied, power of nationalism. The desire to be free in one's own land, to control one's own destiny and order one's own affairs, is a national ambition and calls forth great feats of heroism and self-sacrifice; and it is of vital consequence to the future of our civilization, in Africa and elsewhere, that the desires and determination of the African people to be free should be understood in America, as well as in Britain.

"This week, the Union of South Africa walked out of the United Nations when the debate on the racial situation there was reaching its conclusion, and there is surely a warning in this action which must be heeded by the Western world if Africa is to be saved from the dreadful consequences of false ideals being propagated in the name of Christianity and so-called Christian nationalism. We have seen, over the years, in that country how the whole state system of legislation has been built up, based on the assumption of racial superiority and the exclusion of non-white people from all the upper channels of opportunity and responsibility and of economic and political life. Such a structure, based on such a false foundation, cannot become the pattern for building a civilization in Africa. If Africa is to be saved from the worst consequences of counter-nationalism and black-and-white racialism, she will need economic and political structures which offer full opportunity and responsibility to all people, irrespective of their colour, race or creed. Any other structures, based on the concept of privilege, or denial of rights because people are as God made them to be, is doomed, not only to failure in Africa, but to disastrous failure for both the white and the black populations. Many of the white people living in Africa are too close to the danger, too immersed in these situations, to be able to see them in their true proportions, and are powerless to extricate themselves from their dilemma. Their difficulties and dangers can be more clearly seen from outside, and it is for this reason that both the white and the black people of Africa desperately need the interest and the technical assistance of America and the Western world. South Africa's withdrawal from the United Nations is an empty and pathetic gesture by a defiant racial oligarchy . . .

"No nationalism in the modern world which pursues its ambitions without respect for the dignity and worth of humanity is a true nationalism. The great and historic struggle for justice and emancipation is a struggle for the dignity and worth of the human person of infinite value in the sight of God and the methods we use must be compatible with that respect and evaluation of our enemies. This opens up a whole new vista in the great struggle of humanity towards a common civilization. It is a new era which has been opened up if only because the discovery of nuclear energy makes other methods of conflict and controversy obsolete but primarily because God is working his purpose out and has taken upon himself the form of the servant of mankind to show us in human form the futility of conflicting national prides and prejudices.

"The United Nations is engaged in a great effort to devise the means of helping peoples to pursue the struggle for emancipation and self-determination by peaceful and orderly pro-

cesses under Chapters 11 and 12 of the Charter. But there is conspicuous absence of Christian leadership at the United Nations on this vitally important question of racial conflict in S. Africa so vital for civilization in Africa and everywhere. Procedural reasons for abstaining are found but the fact remains that no great power, British, European or American, can be found to give a positive and constructive lead on the matter, and it is left to the Arab and Asian countries supported by the Communist countries. Meanwhile the great apostasy of South Africa from Christian culture and standards of civilization continues. She has physically walked out because her standards and behaviour to her own African people are criticized; everything possible must be done to bring her back into the comity of nations and to Christian standards of the dignity and worth of the human person in the sight of God and the infinity of his forgiveness . . .

"Our vocation as Christians is a great adventure which has to be worked out in time and space, although it derives its inspiration from eternity. This adventure must be without thought of reward, or even visible results. Like the writer of the Bhagavad Gita, we should not desire the fruits of action. Or, as T. S. Eliot puts it, 'there is only the fight to recover what has been lost and found, and lost again and again, and now under conditions that seem unpropitious. For us there is only the trying—the rest is not our business'.

"Our religion is a way of life, and every moment of our lives is a point of intersection between eternity and time, and in this great adventure we are the willing instruments of a creative power which is not our own, which is not of our making, and may be beyond our understanding; for it is so with us as it was with Christ confronted by the Cross—'not my will, but Thine, be done'. The creative purpose of God in the universe appears by its infinite wisdom to favour variety, freedom, and intelligent co-operation rather than a super-imposed dictatorship or uniformity. Hence, we see that the Christian religion is both conservative, and dynamic—it is conservative in the true sense of preserving all that is greatest in man's aspirations and achievements in building the kingdom of God on earth,—that is, a civilization and a culture freely open to people of all races and nations. But it is also revolutionary, in the sense that our holy religion is God's instrument of change, whereby he challenges evil in all its manifestations, political and social, as well as spiritual. It is also the means whereby evil can be overcome with the eternal beauty, truth and goodness. Thus, the divine purpose can only be pursued on earth by methods and means which are compatible with the eternal truth and beauty of God in the Word made Flesh."

